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THE TAMIL COUNTRY UNDER VIJAYANAGAR

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ABBREVIATONS

Ad. and Soc. Life — Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagar by Dr. T. V. Mahalingam.

A. S. R. — Archaeological Survey Report.

C. C. M. — Christian College Magazine.

C. P. — Copper Plates.

C. S. S. — Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari.

E. C. — Epigraphia Carnatica.

E. I. — Epigraphia Indica.

E. M. E. S. I. — Early Muslim Expansion in South India by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya.

K. S. — Karnāṭaka Rājākkaḷ Śavistāra-charitam.

F. E. — A Forgotten Empire by Robert Sewell.

F. N. Foot–Note.

Further Sources. F. S. — Further Sources of Vijayanagar History by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya.

I. H. Q. — Indian Historical Quarterly.

I. A. — Indian Antiquary.

J. A. H. R. S. — Journal of the Āndhra Historical Research Society

J. M. U. — Journal of the Madras University.

J. R. A. S. — Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

J. I. H. — Journal of Indian History.

J. R. A. S. B. — Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bangal.

J. B. H. S. — Journal of the Bombay Historical Society.

J. B. B. R. A. S. — Journal of the Bihār Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

K. V. R. M. V. — K. V. Rangaswami Iyengar Memorial Volume.

Mys. Gaz. — Mysore Gazetteer.

M. A. R. — Mysore Archaeological Reports.

M. E. R. — Madras Epigraphical Reports.

O. H. MSS. — Oriental Historical Manuscripts by Taylor.

P. I. H. C. — Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.

P. I. H. R. C. — Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission.

P. S. I. — Pudukkōṭṭai State Inscriptions.

P. O. C. — Proceedings of the Oriental Conference.

Q. J. M. S. — Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society.

Sewell — R. Sewell – List of Antiquities, Madras.

Studies. N. Venkataramanayya	Studies in the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara.
Studies O. Ramachandrayya	Studies on Kṛishṇadēvarāya of Vijayanagar.
Studies R. Sathianathaier	Studies in the Ancient History of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam.
Sources	Sources of Vijayanagar History by Dr. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar.
Sathianthaier. Vols. I and II	A Political and Cultural History of India by R. Sathianathaier.
S. I. I.	South Indian Inscriptions.
S. I. P.	South Indian Polity by Dr. T. V. Mahalingam.
S. I. and Her M. I.	South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders.
S. A. Dt.	South Arcot District.
T. A. S.	Travancore Archaeological Series.
T. S. M.	Travancore State Manual.
T. T. D. R.	Tirumalai Tirupati Dēvaśthān̤am Report.
T. T. D. I.	Tirumalai Tirupati Dēvaśthān̤am Inscriptions.
V. R.	A Topographical List of Inscriptions by V. Rangachari

FOREWORD

I have perused the Thesis, "The Tamil Country under Vijayanagar" by Dr. Krishnaswami Pillai.

As the author points out, what the Thesis attempts is not so much a narration of political and administrative events but a discussion of certain problems concerning the neglected aspects of the history of South India from the middle of the 14th to the middle of the 17th century. A full statement of the Sambuvaraya rulers contains a number of new facts. The decline in the activity of the Local institutions in the Tamil country is attributed by the author to the neglect by the Vijayanagar rulers and he makes a special point of the Oddiyan struggle or the invasion of the Tamil country by the Orissa people which has not received much attention so far. The author devotes much space to the rebuttal of the views of Sri T. K. Velu Pillai regarding the activities of the rulers of Travancore. Dr. Krishnaswami Pillai has utilised the unpublished inscriptions of the Vijayanagar period obtained by him from the Government Epigraphical Department. It is true that the rule of the Tamil country by the Kings of Vijayanagar has not been specially studied and much credit is due to the author for having filled a real gap in our knowledge.

The author has noted that the country known as Rajagambira Rajyam comprised the districts of Chingleput, North Arcot and South Arcot. The unsympathetic rule of the Sultans of Madura and the consequent ruin of the temples at Chidambaram, Srirangam and Madura, the criminal neglect of the dams and irrigation channels of the Cauvery, are picturesquely set out in this volume. Many notable scholars have dealt with this period including Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Mr. Nilakanta Sastri, Father Heras, Dr. Mahalingam and Mr. Pandarathar. Nevertheless, I think it may be fairly stated that this volume adds something new to the contributions made by those scholars. The conquest of the Muslims of Madura by Kumara Kampana is fully described.

The Vijayanagar rule in the Tamil country marked the centralisation of royal authority and the characteristic South Indian Organisations of the Mahasabha, the Ur and the Nadu which reached their climax during the Chola period and which are described in no less than 646 inscriptions declined gradually in the course of the 14th and 15th centuries and, as the author points out, there were only ten places where the inscriptions show that the Sabhas werein working order in the 15th century.

The Vijayanagar rulers introduced, in consonance with their ideas of centralised feudalism, institutions known as the Nayankara and the Ayagar systems which are fully described by the author. The conquest of Kanchipuram in the latter half of the 15th century marked a defeat for Vijayanagar. This conquest is ascribed by Dr. Krishnaswami Pillai to the Banas who were originally the feudatories of the Satavahanas and afterwards transferred their allegiance to the Pallavas of Kanchi. The author refers to the inscription in the Ekambaranatha temple to confirm the occupation of Kanchi in 1469. The victories of Saluva Narasimha reestablished, for a time, the reputation of the Vijayanagar rulers and after his death, the Nayak rulers established themselves over a great part of the Chola and the Pandya territory.

The policy of appointing Governors or Mahamandalesvaras was copied by the Vijayanagar rulers from their predecessors and the inscriptions of these Mahamandalesvaras are examined with care in order to illustrate the feudal aspects of the Vijayanagar rule which were in contra-distinction to the more elastic and decentralised practices of their predecessors and were specially exemplified by the creation of officers designated Amaranayakas.

The author devotes considerable space to the theory of Sri T. K. Velu Pillai in his "Travancore State Manual" wherein he tries to disprove the victory of the Vijayanagar forces over those of Travancore.

It was in 1565 that at the battle of Talikota, the Vijayanagar armies were completely defeated by the combined Muslim Sultans and the calamitous effects of this battle are fully recounted, and the views of Professor Sathianathier with regard to this battle and to the Nayaks of Madura are followed. It will be remembered that Professor Sathianathier has endeavoured to prove that the history of Vijayanagar even after the battle of Talikota did not much vary from the pre-Talikota state of affairs. He differs, in this respect, from other scholars but the main point to remember is the inauguration of a well-regulated system of Government after the accession of Tirumalaraya. The Tamil country was, under this arrangement, entrusted to a brother of Tirumarlaaya, namely, Venkataraya; and the author asserts that the Emperor left the affairs of the provinces in the hands of his relations, divided the country on a linguistic basis aiming at decentralisation and administrative efficiency.

The battle of Uttiramerur and the conquest of Vellore by Venkataraya and the consequent invasion of Senji are fully narrated and the volume ends with an account of the great civil war that ensued between the nephew and the son of Venkataraya after his death. This civil war lasted for fourteen years and the Empire suffered material and moral ruin, as described forcibly by Prof. Sathianathier. The period from 1658 when Chandragiri was captured by the Sultan of Golkonda and the rulers of Vijayanagar had to seek refuge beyond the borders of their kingdom culminated in the victory of the forces of Mysore over Sriranga's army and this episode marks the end of the Vijayanagar rule.

The author has taken great trouble to collate all the available inscriptions and historical records and does not shrink from differing from some of his eminent predecessors who have attempted to deal with the history of this period. The thesis is a thoroughly painstaking work evincing a developed critical faculty and a sense of balance and proportion.

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C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar,
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AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

This book forms the subject matter of my Ph. D., thesis entitled "THE TAMIL COUNTRY UNDER VIJAYANAGAR" in which I have made an attempt to clarify and throw more light than before on certain problems in the history of the Tamil Country. I have been working on this subject for several years since 1950. The problems which I have tackled on the history of the Tamil Country have not been sufficiently worked out so far. I am greatly indebted to the several savants in the field of Vijayanagar history beginning from Robert Sewell who was the pioneer in this branch of Indian historical investigation.

Great is my gratitude and respect for my revered Professor R. Sathianathaier, but for whom, I would not have completed this research work. His encouragement and help and the suggestions given to me by Dr. T. V. Mahalingam, Professor of Ancient History and Archaeology, University of Madras and the late veteran in South Indian History, Mr. T. V. Sadasiva Pandarathar were of immense help to me in preparing this thesis.

My humble thanks are due to the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, LL.D., D.Litt., who has blessed this work with an excellent Foreword. I will be failing in my duty if I do not thank the Syndicate of the Annamalai University for agreeing to publish this thesis through the financial help given by the University Grants Commission. My thanks are also due to the Azhagu Printers, Chidambaram, for their neat printing. I hope that this book will be a welcome addition to the Historical Series of the Annamalai University Publications.

Annamalainagar
21—11—1964.

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CHAPTER — I

EARLY INVASIONS

The conquest and rule of the Tamiḻ country by the kings of Vijayanagar have not received sufficient attention from research scholars in the field of South Indian history. How and when the Tamiḻ country was conquered and what kind of administrative system was introduced by them are interesting problems and this thesis is a humble attempt in that field of historical investigation. The generally accepted date of the foundation of Vijayanagar is A. D. 1336 during the reign of the Hoyśaḷa ruler, Ballāḷa III. After his lamented death in A. D. 1342 in his struggle with Sulṭān Ghiyāth-ud-din of Madura (1341–42) at the battle of Kaṇṇanūr-Koppam and after the mysterious disappearance of his son Ballāḷa IV in about A. D. 1346, Harihara I regarded himself as the natural heir of the Hoyśaḷās in the Karnaṭāka region which formed the nucleus of the kingdom of Vijayanagar. But, we do not know fully how the Tamiḻ country became a part of Vijayanagar. It was after Ballāḷa IV that Harihara I assumed royal powers and it must be after A. D. 1346 that parts of the Tamiḻ country came under his rule. The two important states that possessed political power simultaneously with the rise and growth of Vijayanagar were the Śambuvarāya kingdom of Paḍaiviḍu and the Sulṭānate of Madura. Parts of the modern districts of Chittoor, Chingleput, North and South Arcots formed the Śambuvarāya state. Roughly, the region south of the river Coleroon as far as Rāmeśvaram was the Sulṭānate of Madura.[1]

The Muslim historian Shāmsi-Sirāj-Afif, who wrote the history of the reign of Firoz Shah Tughlak (1351–1388) mentions an important event connected with the history of the Sulṭānate of Madura. "Soon after his accession (Firoz Shah) while the Sulṭān was at Delhi attending to the affairs of his kingdom, ambassadors arrived from Ma'bar[2] to state a grievance to him. One Qurbat Hasan Kaṅgu was the Sulṭān of Madura, when Sulṭān Firoz Shah succeeded Muhammad-bin-Tughlak. But he made himself despicable in the eyes of his subjects by decking himself with female ornaments and making himself notorious by other indecent actions. So, the people of Ma'bar rose in revolt against the Sulṭān. A neighbouring chief, *Bakan*, at the head of a body of men and elephants, marched into Ma'bar and made Qurbat Hasan Kaṅgu prisoner; he (Bakan) made himself master of all Ma'bar which had belonged to the Muslims, their Women suffered violence and captivity at the hands of the Hindus and Bakan established himself as the ruler of Ma'bar."[3]

Who was the Hindu chieftain *Bakan* who invaded Madura and defeated Qurbat Hasan Kaṅgu? Dr. N. Venkataramanayya had identified Bakan with Kumāra Kampaṇā and regarded Qurbat Hasan as the last Sulṭān of Madura who

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1. It is not certain whether the present district of Tanjore formed part of the Sulṭānate of Madura. The Sulṭāns seem to have exercised supremacy from Trichinopoly as proved by their coins and by the observations of Ibn–batūta.
2. Ma'bar refers to the Pāṇḍya country.
3. Elliot ond Dowson. Vol. 3. p. 339 and S. K. Iyengar. S. I. and Her M. I. pp. 186–187.

ruled from A. D. 1353 io 1371.[4] But this identification of Bakan with Kumāra Kampaṇā is a far-fetched one and it is not possible to prove that Qurbat Hasan was the Sulṭān of Madura from A. D. 1353 to 1371 either from epigraphical, numismatic or literary evidences. There are no coins bearing the name of Qurbat nor is there any mention of him in inscriptions or in literature.

Mr. Tiruvenkatachari has implicitly followed Dr. Venkatramanayya's suggestion that the Sulṭān of Madura who was defeated by Kumāra Kampaṇā was Qurbat Hasan and the event happened in A. D. 1371.[5] Both of them have completely neglected the significance of the name *Bakan*. Dr. S. K. Iyengar had maintained that the period of break in the coinage of the Sulṭāns of Madura between A. D. 1344 and 1356 was due to the invasion and conquest of Madura by Kumāra Kampaṇā.[6] It will be maintained subsequently that Kumāra Kampaṇā did not invade Madura before A. D. 1371 and that the Sulṭān who was defeated by him was not Qurbat Hasan but one Fakhruddin Mubrāk Shāh, Then, who was the Vijayanagar leader who was responsible for the break in the continuity of the coinage of the Sulṭāns of Madura? Most probably it was Bukka I, the younger brother of Harihara I. The name Bakan, mentioned by Shāmsi-Sirāj-Afif agrees with Bukka who seems to have been sent by his elder brother against Madura. Harihara I regarded himself as the elevator of the house of the Hoyśaḷa Ballāḷas and it became his bounden duty to avenge the death of Ballāḷa III at the battle of Kaṉṉanūr–Koppam. Therefore, the earliest invasion of the Tamiḻ country happened in between A. D. 1344 and

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[4] J. M. U. Vol. XI. Ma'bar from 1323–1371. pp. 41–65.

[5] Madhurāvijayam of Gaṅgādēvi – Introduction. p. 52.

[6] Ancient India. pp. 27–28 and S. I. and Her M. I. p. 169.

1356 which is the period of the break in the coinage of Madura Sultanate and it was after this successful campaign that Harihara I must have issued his Kōmal grant. This is a solitary copper plate grant of Harihara I hailing from Kōmal (Mayūram Taluk, Tanjore Dt.). Only the last plate of the grant is available and other details about the donor and the date are not available. All that could be said about the grant is that it registers the gift of the village of Chittamuru to some brahmins.[7] At any rate, this epigraphical evidence could be used to maintain that the earliest invasion of the Tamiḻ country happened during the reign of Harihara I (1336–1355) under the leadership of his younger brother, Bukka I.

But this conquest of Madura by Bukka I during the time of Qurbat Hasan was a short lived one. It will be made clear later on, that one Adil Shāh who ruled Madura from 1356–1367, asserted himself soon after the withdrawal of the Vijayanagar army under Bukka. Even before the first invasion against Madura in the south, the region around the Tirupati hills in the Tamiḻ country seems to have come under the early rulers of the Saṅgama dynasty. Śavaṇa Uḍaiyār, the son of Kampa I, was ruling from Udayagiri from A. D. 1347 as the "Lord of the Eastern Ocean." In the Tamiḻ country his inscriptions are dated from his 4th to his 16th regnal years and they are found at Tirupālaivaṉam, Tiruvoṟṟiyūr and Neyyāḍippākkam in the present Chingleput district and at Kāḷahasti.[8] Nos. 178 and 179 of the Tirupati inscriptions belong to the early period of the reign of Bukka I. It may be maintained that the northernmost part of the Tamiḻ country, the region around Tirupati, must have formed part of Vijayanagar right from the time of Harihara I. The territory must have passed under his rule automatically after the decline of the Hoyśaḷas.[9]

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[7] M. E. R. 1925. Paragraph 29.

[8] Vijayanagar Sex-centenary Volume. p. 171.

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[9] S. K. Iyengar. History of Tirupati. Vol. I. p. 424.

CHAPTER — II

CONQUEST OF RĀJAGAMBĪRARĀJYAM

"Sri Kampaṇa Uḍaiyar, the son of Bukkaṇa Uḍaiyār who was the lord of the Western and Eastern oceans, gave to Gaṇḍāraguḷi Mārayya Nāyaka, the son of Mahāpradhāṇi Śomayya Daṇṇāyaka, the village of Aṇṇamaṅgalappaṛṛu, as long as the Sun and the Moon exist, for having defeated Veṇṛumaṇkoṇḍa Śambuvarāya by capturing him prisoner and for having conquered Rājagambīraṇmalai in Saka 1285, Śōbakrutu."* This inscription from Mādampākkam (N. A. Dt.) dated A. D. 1363 mentions the conquest of the Śambuvarāya territory by Kumāra Kampaṇa and his general Gaṇḍāraguḷi Mārayya Nāyaka and the date of the event. Before entering on a discussion about the date and nature of the conquest of Rājagambīrarājyam by Kumāra Kampaṇā we must know something about Kampaṇā and the Śambuvarāyas of Paḍaivīḍu.

Kumāra Kampaṇā was the first son of Bukka I by his queen called Dēpāyi. Gaṅgādēvi's epic, Madhurāvijayam gives an interesting account of the birth and the signs of future greatness found in his childhood. When Kampaṇā was born, the king Bukka I, distributed plenty of gifts to the Brahmins and the poor, and prisoners were released. Even the elephants and horses became so glad because they would be led by Kampaṇā to the regions of the Palar, Kāvēri and Tāmbraparaṇi. There were signs of conch and wheel in his left palm and he was named Kampaṇā, because from the time of his birth, the enemies of Vijayanagar began to shake with fear (Kamp – shake with fear).[10] Kampaṇā and his brothers were brought up so carefully by the king Bukka I and they were taught all the arts necessary for princes. In his youth, Kampaṇa's brilliance was such that he was regarded as the incarnation of Dharma, Bhīma and Arjuṇa of the Pāṇḍava princes, in a single person.[11]

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* 267 of 1919.

The above description of Kampaṇā's greatness by the royal poetess (Gaṅgādēvi) was not an empty praise of hcr husband. It is corroborated by epigraphical evidence also. An inscription from Kōlār praises Kampaṇā in such eloquent terms. " A Sun in unbounded valour, a Moon incarnate in serenity, a unique treasure of music, a tree of Paradise to the learned, intent upon establishing Dharma, Lord of the Goddess of Sovereignty with a name renowned among kings, was Vīra Kumāra Kampaṇā."[12] The above record dated A. D. 1356 mentions that Kampaṇā was appointed by his father as the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara of the Mulbāgalrājya and he was also entrusted with the task of extending the Vijayanagar rule in the Tamiḻ country. The conquest of the Śambuvarāya territory and the annihilation of the Sulṭānate of Madura were the two main achievements of Kumāra Kampaṇā. The main sources for a discussion of the route, date and conquest of the two kingdoms in the Tamiḻ country by Kumāra Kampaṇā are literary and epigraphical. The Madhurāvijayam of Gaṅgādēvi and the Sāḷuvabhyudayam of Rājaṇātha

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10. Madhurāvijayam. Translated by S. Tiruvenkatachari. Canto. II. pp. 14–16 aud S. K. Iyengar. Sources. pp. 23–28.
11. Madhurāvijayam. Trivandram Edition. Introduction.
12. Epigraphia Carnatica. Vol. X. Kolar No. 222 dated 8th Feb. 1356.

Diṇḍima are the two main literary sources.[13] As for the epigraphical sources, there are about 132 inscriptions which were engraved during the period of Kampaṇā's conquest and rule in the Tamiḻ country. They are found scattered in the Tamiḻ districts of Chittoor, Chingleput, North and South Arcots, Tāñjore, Trichinopoly, Śalem, Coimbatore and Rāmanāthapuram. The earliest of these inscriptions comes from Āvūr near Tiruvaṇṇāmalai and is dated 24th September 1352.[14]

According to Gaṇgādēvi, Bukka I advised his son Kumāra Kampaṇā to march against the Śambuvarāya chieftain of Paḍaivīḍu in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, to defeat him in battle and then to establish himself at Kāñchi.[15] "The Śambuvarāya is the leader of the Vaṉṉiyas and he is preparing for war. If you subdue the Vaṉṉiya ruler it would be easy for you to break the power of the Muslims at Madura."[16] The sulṭān of Madura is ruling like the Rākshasās of Laṅka. Just as Rāma destroyed the Rākshasās and their leader Rāvaṇa, it is your duty the destory the Muslims.[17] After giving such instructions Bukka I presented Kampaṇā with valuable presents and ornaments. Obeying the orders of his father Kumāra Kampaṇā started on his famous expedition to the Tamiḻ country from his head-quarters at Mulbāgal. Here, Gaṅgādēvi says that Kumāra Kampaṇā and his strong army consisting of elephants, horses and archers took five or six days to cross the Karnāṭaka country and reach the banks of the Pālār. The dust which was raised by the march of Kampaṇā's army made the waters of the river Pālār black in colour and it looked like a signal for the defeat of the Śambuvarāya ruler. Who were the Śambuvarāya chieftains who ruled over the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam region during this period ? The Śambuvarāya chieftains, whose records are available in the present Chingleput, North and South Arcot districts are said to have belonged to the Śeṅgēṇi family which was also known as Śambukula.[18] The earliest member of this dynasty came from Ōymānāḍu.[19] The chieftains had surnames like Nālayiravaṉ, Ammaiyappaṉ, Attimallaṉ and Attiyāṇḍāṉ. At first, the Śambuvarayās worked their way up by military service to their Chōḷa overlords in their campaigns against the Pāṇḍyas.[20] Their exploits are revealed in the several titles assumed by them such as, "Conqueror of the Pāṇḍya Country", "The Peerless", Veṉṟumaṉkoṇḍāṉ" etc.[21] They also endeared themselves to the people by charitable acts like founding villages, building temples and endowing them with rich gifts. That they were śaivites in religion is proved by their adoption of the emblem of the Bull.

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[13] Sources. pp. 23-31.

[14] No. 397 of 1919 dated Saka 1274, Nandana, Kaṉṉi Su 15, Monday, Rēvati.

[15] Madhurāvijayam. Canto, III. Stanza 41

[15] Ibid. Stanza 42

[17] Ibid. Stanza 43

One Śeṅgēṇimiṇdaṉ Rājendra Chōḷa Śambuvarāya is mentioned as a feudatory of Vikrama Chōḷa in four inscriptions.[22] During the reigns Rājarāja II, Rājadhirāja II, Kulōttuṅga III and Rājarāja III several Śambuvarāya chieftains are mentioned in inscriptions. After the decline of the Chōḷa imperialism under Rajendra III, the Śambuvarāyas came under the supremacy of the Pāṇḍyas. From A. D. 1264 to 1310 till the assassination of Kulaśēkhara Pāṇḍya, the Śambuvarāyas were the feudatories of the Pāṇḍyas. During the Muslim invasions of the Tamiḻ country after A. D. 1310, and during the period of the Pāṇḍya civil war between Vīra Pāṇḍya and Śundara Pāṇḍya, the Śambuvarāya chieftains seem to have achieved their long cherished ambition of independence. Then we hear about two great Śambuvarāya rulers, Veṉṟumaṉkoṇḍa Śambuvarāya and his son Rājanārāyaṇa Śambuvarāya.

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[18] Śambukula refers to the Vaṉṉiyakula kshatriya caste which is also known as Paḍayātchis in the Tamiḻ country.

[19] Ōymānāḍu is the coastal region in the Tiṇḍivaṉam Taluk of South Arcot district

[20] E. I. Vol. 28. No. 27

[21] S. I. I. Vol. I. Nos. 59 and 61

[22] 63 of 1900, 232 of 1921, 400 and 422 of 1922

Veṉṟumaṉkoṇḍa Ēkāmbaranātha Śambuvarāya (C.1321–1339):

The glorious period of the Śambuvarāyas might be said to have begun with 'Veṉṟumaṉkoṇḍān' who also assumed the title of Śakalalōkachakravarti. There are eight inscriptions of Veṉṟumaṉkoṇḍān in North Arcot and Chingleput districts. He seems to have carved out a small state consisting of these two districts and became an independent ruler. But we do not know from whom this territory was conquered by Veṉṟumaṉkoṇḍāṉ. Mr. Tiruvenkatachari suggests that he captured Kāñchi and the surrounding region from the Kākatīya general Muppidi Nāyaka who was in occupation of the city having taken it from the Kēraḷa ruler, Ravivarman.[23] It is true that the Kākatīya army under Muppidi Nāyaka captured and occupied Kāñchi in A.D. 1316.[24] But, the question is whether Veṉṟumaṉkoṇḍāṉ actually conquered the region from the Kākatīyas. His records only mention his title without mentioning why or how he assumed it. It is probable that he drove out the remnants of the Kākatīya army from the region and then assumed the title of Veṉṟumaṉkoṇḍān.

The date of his accession could be fixed on the evidence of one of his inscriptions. A record from Vaḷayattūr (N. A. Dt.) dated 8th September 1338 mentions that it was inscribed in his 17th regnal year.[25] Another record from Kuṉṟattūr (Chingleput district) dated in his 2nd regnal year mentions a gift of land to the temple.[26] But there are no inscriptions of his, upto his 14th regnal year from A. D. 1323–1335. It was during this period that Muhammad-bin-Tughlak invaded and conquered the Tamiḻ country and Madura became the head-quarters of the province of Ma'bar. Dr Venkataramanayya attributes the absence of inscriptions during this period to the Muslim invasion.[27] In A. D. 1327 Sriraṅgam was invaded and plundered by the muslims according to the Kōiloḻugu. Therefore, the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam region was under Muslim occupation from about A. D. 1325 till they were defeated and driven away by Veṉṟumaṉkoṇḍāṉ in about A. D. 1327, A record from Kīḻ-miṉṉāl mentions that the village was converted into an "Añjināṉ Puhaliḍam" (refugee colony) to protect the refugees who lost everything on account of the Muslim invasion.[28] Dr. Venkataramanayya is of opinion that the Śambuvarāya assumed the title of Veṉṟumaṉkoṇḍāṉ after defeating and driving out the Muslims.[29] But, we know that his inscriptions give him this title even from the second year of his accession (i. e.) A. D. 1323.[29(a)] Another title, Śakala-lōkachakravarti, though a very ambitious one, seems to have been added to that of Veṉṟumaṉkoṇḍāṉ after his victory over the Muslims. Two of his records dated after his 16th regnal year mention this title, whereas the earlier inscriptions do not

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[23] S. Tiruvenkatachari. Madhurāvijayam. p. 15

[24] R. Sathianathaier. Vol. II. p. 86

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25. No. 29 of 1934 dated Saka 1260, 17th regnal year Kaṉṉi, ba, 8; Tuesday, Tiruvādirai

26. No. 206 of 1938

27. J. M. U. Vol. XI. pp. 43–54

28. M. E. R. 1934 Para 22

29. Early Muslim Expansion in S. India. p. 202

29(a). 206 of 1930

mention it. Therefore, it was the title of Śakalalōkachakravarti that Veṉṟumaṉkoṇḍāṉ assumed after his victory over the Muslims.

Two inscriptions from Kuṭṭiyam in N. Arcot District are helpful in fixing the last date of Veṉṟumaṉkoṇḍāṉ. The first of them registers the grant of the village of Kuṭṭiyam, free of taxes, as Gaṅga-gamaṉavirutti to one Eḷumbōdaṉ Gaṅgaiyādi Mādavayyaṉ for having carried the ashes of Veṉṟumaṉkoṇḍāṉ to be immersed in the river Ganges and for performing the Śraddha at Gaya.[30] The next record, dated in the 3rd year of his son and successor, Rājanārayaṇa Śambuvarāya in the Tamiḻ month of Āḍi, registers the gift of four vēlis of land, free of taxes, for offerings, worship etc. to God Ēkāmbaranātha, consecrated by the above mentioned Mādavayyan in memory of Veṉṟumaṉkoṇḍa Śambuvarāya.[31] According to this record Rājanārayaṇa Śambuvarāya was associated with his father in the duties of administration three years before the death of his father and his actual accession to the throne. The very first record of Rājanārayaṇa is dated in the third year of his rule which only means that he was a joint ruler with his father from A. D. 1336. So, his third regnal year is A. D. 1339 which was also the actual date of his accession. Veṉṟumaṉkoṇḍāṉ died in the first half of A. D. 1339.

Rājanārayana Śambuvarāya (1339–1363):

It was this Śambuvarāya ruler who came into conflict with Kumāra Kampaṇā of Vijayanagar. There are 89 inscriptions of his period and they are found in the three districts of North Arcot, Chingleput and South Arcot. Of these 89 records 33 are found in North Arcot, 38 in Chingleput and

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[30] No. 32 of 1934. The date of the record could only be approximately fixed as 6th July 1339

[31] No. 33 of 1934

18 in South Arcot. From the location of these records we can fix the extent of his kingdom. The records of his father (Veṉṟumaṉkoṇḍaṉ) are found in the districts of Chingleput and North Arcot only. But the records of Rājanārāyaṇa are available in the present South Arcot district also. Of these records in South Arcot, none is found south of the river Gaḍilam which flows between Cuddalore N. T. and Paṉruṭi in S. A. district. Therefore, the Śambuvarāya kingdom under Rājanārayaṇa included the two full districts of North Arcot and Chingleput and the South Arcot district excluding Cuddalore and Chidambaram Taluks approximately. The capital of this state was Viriñchipuram on the Northern bank of the river Pālār and Paḍaiviḍu was the stronghold with a fortress on a hill called Rājagambīraṉmalai. Rājagambīra was one of the titles of Rājanārayaṇa and so his kingdom was also called Rājagambīrarājyam. Besides this title of Rājagambira, Rājanārayaṇa is mentioned with three other surnames such as Mallināthaṉ, Udāraguṇarāmaṉ and Poṉṉinthambirāṉ.[32] Some of the villages and towns within this kingdom were named after Rājanārayaṇa. Kuḍanagaram (N. A. Dt.) was a refugee colony founded by Rājanārayaṇa and so it was called Rājanārayaṇanpēṭṭai.[33] Sadras, near Mahābalipuram was also called Rājanārayaṇaṉpaṭṭiṉam.[34]

Who was the Śambuvarāya defeated by Kampaṇa ?

Gaṅgādēvi mentions that Kumāra Kampaṇā, arriving with his army at Viriñchipuram attacked the forces of the Śambuvarāya which were completely defeated and the chieftain took refuge in the hill fortress called Rājagambīraṉmala.. Then, the fortress was besieged. Unable to stand the siege for a long time the Śambuvarāya came out of the fort, sword in hand. There was a duel between him and Kumāra Kampaṇā in which the Śambuvarāya was killed.[35] Who was the Śambuvarāya that was defeated by Kampaṇa? Was he actually killed in battle as mentioned by Gaṅgādēvi and when did this event take place? The answers to the above questions need a thorough discussion of the various views and conclusions arrived at by the previous writers on this subject. Dr. S. K. Iyengar did not definitely state whether it was Veṉṟumaṉkoṇḍa Śambuvarāya or his son Rājanārayaṇa who was defeated by Kumāra Kampaṇā. In the second chapter of his valuable work, "South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders" he mentioned that it was apparently Rājanārayaṇa Śambuvarāya who was overthrown by Kumāra Kampaṇā.[36] But, he changed his view in the sixth chapter of the work and maintained that it was Śakalalōka Chakravarti Veṉṟuaṉmkoṇḍa Śambuvarāya that was overthrown by Kumāra Kampaṇa about A. D. 1347.[37] Mr. S. Tiruvenkatachari has rejected the view of Dr. S. K. Iyengar and has come forward with a new identification. On the strength of the name "Veṉṟumaṉkoṇḍāṉ" mentioned in inscription No. 267 of 1919, he creates a Veṉṟumaṉkoṇḍāṉ II who, as he assumes, was the son and successor of Rājanārayaṇa Śambuvarāya. According to him, it was this Veṉṟumaṉkoṇḍāṉ II who was defeated and captured prisoner by Mārayya Nāyaka or put to death by Kumāra Kampaṇa according to the Madhurāvijayam.[38] Further, Mr. Tiruvenkatachari states that Rājanārāyaṇa Śambuvarāya died before A. D. 1363 and was succeeded by his son who was the last ruler of this dynasty.[39]

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[32] Nos. 202 of 1921, 28 of 1934 and 354 of 1911

[33] 59 of 1934

[34] 103 of 1933

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[35] Madhurāvijayam. Canto. IV

[36] S. I, and Her M. I. p. 61

[37] Ibid. p. 185

[38] S. Tiruvenkatachari. Op. cit., pp. 24 and 33

[39] Ibid. p. 31

Rājanārāyaṇa Śambuvarāya succeeded his father in A. D. 1339 and was alive till 18th July 1363 according to inscriptional evidences. His earliest record is dated 9th April 1339 and the latest inscription mentioning him yields the date of 18th July 1363.[40] The latter record hails from Taiyūr in Chingleput district dated Saka 1285, Śōbakirutu, Āḍi 20th. These astronomical details yield the correct date of 18th July 1363. The inscription mentions an order issued by Śōmappa Daṇḍanāyaka in accordance with the written request of Rājanārāyaṇa.[41] Therefore, Rājanārāyaṇa ruled from A. D. 1339 and he was alive in 1363 and nothing can prevent us in regarding that he continued to live even afterwards.[41(a)] Then how are we to accept the view of Mr. Tiruvenkatachari that Rājanārāyaṇa died before A. D. 1363 and was succeeded by his son Veṉṟumaṉkoṇḍāṉ II ? The inscription from Mādampākkam dated A. D. 1363 simply mentions that Gaṇḍāraguḷi Mārayya Nāyaka, the general of Kumāra Kampaṇā captured one "Veṉṟumaṉkoṇḍa Śambuvarāya" as prisoner and occupied Rājagambīraṉmalai.[42] Does this name Veṉṟumaṉkoṇḍa Śambuvarāya in any way suggest that he was the son and successor of Rājanārāyaṇa ? The fact seems to be that Rājanārāyaṇa himself is referred to in the record as "Veṉṟumaṉkoṇḍāṉ" which was the title assumed by his father. Therefore, it was Rājanārāyaṇa Śambuvarāya who came into conflict with Kumāra Kampaṇā. There is no necessity to assume the existence of a Veṉṟumaṉkoṇḍāṉ II who is not mentioned either in literature or in inscriptions. The above arguments also disprove the statement of Gaṅgādēvi that the Śambuvarāya was killed in a duel with Kumāra Kampaṇā.

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[40] No. 377 of 1929 and 226 of 1916. M. E. R. 1917. Paragraph 43

[41] 226 of 1916 M. E. R. 1917. Paragraph 43

[42] No. 267 of 1919

[41(a)] No. 390 of 1905 dated Saka 1295, Ānanda, refers to one Mallinatha Śambuvaraya who may be identified with Rajanarayana Sambuvaraya.

The two records which I have used in maintaining that Rājanārāyaṇa was captured prisoner by Gaṇḍāraguḷi Mārayya Nāyaka and that he was alive in A. D. 1363 are sufficient for supporting this view.

Date of the Conquest :

When did Kumāra Kampaṇā conquer the Śambuvarāya territory ? The Madhurāvijayam of Gaṅgādēvi gives no date of the conquest of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam by Kumāra Kampaṇā. Dr. S. K. Iyengar considered the year A. D. 1347 as the probable date of the conquest of the Śambuvarāya territory.[43] Mr. Tiruvenkatachari gives a broad margin of four years between A. D. 1359 and 1363.[44] What is the exact date of the conquest ? We have already seen that Rājanārāyaṇa Śambuvarāya ruled over Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam from A. D. 1339 and lived upto 1363. His last regnal record from Ukkal (N. A. Dt.) bears the date of Saka 1284, Śubakiritu. It refers to the 26th year of Rājanārāyaṇa's rule and yields the correct date of 30th March 1362.[45] No inscription of Rājanārāyaṇa Śambuvarāya, mentioning him as a ruler, after that date is so far available. Two records from Mādampākkam, which have already been referred to, help us in arriving at the date of the conquest. The first of those two records, simply gives the Saka date 1285 with the cyclic year Śōbakiritu but does not give any other details of the date. It mentions that Kumāra Kampaṇā bestowed on Mārayya Nāyakā the village of Aṇṇamaṅgalapparṟu for having defeated the Śambuvarāya and capturing Rājagambīraṉmalai.[46] The second inscription is in the form of a beautiful Tamiḻ verse of high literary merit in praise of Bukka I, Kumāra Kampaṇā, Śōmayya Daṉṉāyaka and Mārayya Nāyakā. It also mentions that Mārayya Nāyaka destroyed many of the forts belonging to the Śambuvarāya and made him a prisoner.[47] But it contains no date.

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[43] Q. J. M. S. Vol. XI. p. 31. and S. I. and Her M. I. P. p. 185.

[44] S. Tiruvenkatachari. Op. cit,, p. 31

[45] No. 162 of 1940

[46] 267 of 1919

(The inscription from Taiyūr dated 18th July 1363, registers a śarvamāṉya grant of certain taxes by Kumāra Kampaṇā for worship and repairs to the Śiva temple at the village. The order regarding the grant was issued by Śōmappa Daṇḍanāyaka in accordance with the request of Rājanārāyaṇa Śambuvarāya.[48] What is the significance of this record ? It means that Rājanārāyaṇa Śambuvarāya was defeated before 18th July 1363 and was forced to accept the sovereignty of Kumāra Kampaṇā. He was not killed in battle but was restored to his kingdom as a subordinate of Vijayanagar. On the written request of the Śambuvarāya, the victor (Kumāra Kampaṇā) and his Daṇḍanāyaka made certain grants to the temple at Taiyūr. As we have already noted, the last regnal record of Rājanārāyaṇa gives the date of 30th March 1362. Therefore, it is between these two dates (i. e.) 30th March 1362 and 18th July 1363 that Kumāra Kampaṇā must have conquered Rājagambīrarājyam.)

Two other inscriptions of Kumīrā Kampaṇa enable us to determine the date of the conquest with some accuracy. They are available from Śērkāḍu in North Arcot district and both of them are dated 3rd January 1363.[49] They register the free colonisation of the temple precincts by the people and the order of Kumāra Kampaṇā that the taxes collected from

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47. 268 of 1919
48. 226 of 1916
49 Nos. 203 and 204 of 1921 dated Subakirutu 8th Tai (Tamil month).

them should be utilised for worship in and repairs to the temple at Śērkāḍu. This was done at the instance of Mahāpradhāṇi Sōmappa Uḍaiyār for the continuity of Kampaṇa's rule. It is clear from these two records that Kampaṇa's rule was established in the Sambuvarāya territory before 3rd January 1363. Hence, the nearest approximate date of the conquest may be fixed between October and December 1362.

Nature of the conquest:

Another issue that must be settled in the conquest of the Sambuvarāya kingdom is whether it was conquered in a single expedition or were there more than one expedition? Gradual penetration seems to have been the plan of Kumāra Kampaṇā in extending his authority over the *S*ambuvarāya territory. He seems to have invaded and occupied the region around Tiruvaṇṇāmalai about A. D. 1352. An inscription from Āvūr near Tiruvaṇṇāmalai dated 24th September 1352 mentions the rule of Kumāra Kampaṇā assisted by his Pradhāṇi *S*ōmappa Uḍaiyār.[50] Another record from the same place registers an order of Kumāra Kampaṇā on 22nd February 1359.[51] The Nāṭṭavar of Arakaṇḍanallūr have accepted the sovereignty of Kumāra Kampaṇā about 8th May 1359.[52] A fourth record from Tiruvallam (N. A. Dt.) dated 12th July 1361 mentions the rule of Vīra Kampaṇa Uḍaiyār and his Mahāpradhāṇi *S*ōmappa.[53] How are we to explain the presence of these records before the final conquest of the Sambuvarāya territory by Kumāra Kampaṇā? The probable explanation is that Kumāra Kampaṇā conquered and occupied these strategic places while he was the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara of the Mulbāgal province. Those excursions may be regarded as preparatory raids which resulted in the final conquest in November 1363.

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[50] 297 of 1919

[51] 304 of 1019

[52] 193 of 1934

[53] No. 89 of 1889. S. I. I. Vol. IV

Extent of Rājagambīrarājyam:

What was the geographical boundary and extent of Rājagambīrarājyam conquered by Kumāra Kampaṇā from Rājanārayaṇa Śambuvarāya alias Rājagambīra. Rev. Father Heras had identified this Rājagambīrarajyam with the Pāṇḍya kingdom and mentioned that it comprised of the Madura and Rāmnāḍ districts.[1] This inference was based on the theory of Dr. Hultzsch on the basis of an inscription from Tiruputkuḷi near Kāñchi.[2] The record mentions that after conquering the kingdom of 'Rājagambīra', Kampaṇā was pleased to rule over it on a permanent throne. Dr. Hultzsch had identified this Rājagambīra with a Pāṇḍya ruler named Jatāvarman Kulaśēkhara who is mentioned in his Tiruppūvaṇam plates as Rājagambīra. So, he regarded that Rājagambīrarājyam referred to the Pāṇḍya kingdom.

But, it must be noted that the surname Rājagambīra was not exclusively used by the Pāṇḍyas. Chōḷa monarchs and their feudatories also had assumed this name. According to literary evidence Rājanārāyana Śambuvarāya was also known as Rājagambīra and his stronghold Paḍaiviḍu was known as Rājagambīraṉmalai.[3] The inscription from Tiruputkuḷi definitely mentions that the town was situated in Rājagambīrarājyam. We cannot take the Pāṇḍya kingdom south of the river Kāvēri as referring to Rājagambīrarājyam. Therefore,

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1. Fr. Heras. The Āravīḍu Dynasty. p. 104
2. E. I. Vol. VI. p. 324 and No. 18 of 1899 dated
   A. D. 1365
3, Madhurāvijayam. Canto IV. Stanza 67

the districts of Chingleput, North Arcot and South Arcot in the Tamiḻ country formed the political division known as the Rājagambīrarājyam. It is in these districts that the inscriptions of Rājanārāyaṇa Śambuvarāya, Kumāra Kampaṇa and his officers are found in plenty. There are no inscriptions of Rājanārāyaṇa Śambuvarāya south of the river Gaḍilam. So, the territory which was under the rule of Rājanārāyana Śambuvarāya was also known as Rājagambīrarājyam.

Though the original boundary of the Śambuvarāya territory extended only as far as the river Gaḍilam in the south, Kumāra Kampaṇā seems to have brought under his rule the territory covered by the Chidambaram and Cūddalore taluks and added them to the Rājagambīrarājyam. It is not definitely known whether the present Tanjore district was conquered by Kumāra Kampaṇā or was it acquired earlier during the reign of Harihara I. There are only two inscriptions of Kumāra Kampaṇā in the whole of the Tanjore district. One of them is without date and the other is dated 22nd September 1372.[4] From the date of the record we have to infer that the district of Tanjore came under Kampaṇā's rule a decade later than Rājagambīrarājyam. But we are entirely innocent of the fact from whom Kumāra Kampaṇā or Harihara I conquered the Kāvēri delta.. Chōḻarājya or the Tanjore district also seems to have been added to the Rajagambīrarājyam at first. After Kumāra Kampaṇā's period the northern part of this Rājya was known as the Paḍaivīdurājyam and the southern portion as the Tiruvadigairājyam with Tiruvadigai (S. A. Dt.) as its head-quarters.

Conquest of Koṅgudēsa (Coimbatore):

The epic of Gaṅgādēvi does not mention how or when or from whom the Koṅgu country was acquired by Kumāra

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[4] Nos. 322 of 1927 and 617 of 1902

Kampaṇā. But the Koṅgudēsa seems to have been brought under Vijayanagar rule before the conquest of Madura by Kumāra Kampaṇa. There are three inscriptions one at Modahalli and the other two at Śaḍayampāḷayam, in Coimbatore district. The earliest of these inscriptions is dated 5th March 1366 and mentions that during the reign of Kumāra Kampaṇā one Śōma-Uḍaiyār made a gift to god Mallinātha at Modahalli.[5] This record supplies us with the earliest date of the expansion of Vijayanagar rule in Coimbatore district, three years after the conquest of the Śambuvarāya kingdom. The next two inscriptions are dated A. D. 1373 and they mention that the temples at a place called Kūraiyūr had been defiled and desecrated by the Muslims and later they were rebuilt by one Āvudaiyarāja during the reign of Kumāra Kampaṇa.[6] The temples were those of Nāgēśvaram Uḍaiyār and Vaḍuga piḷḷaiyār which were destroyed during the Muslim invasions.[7]

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[5] No. 246 of 1913

[6] Nos. 135 and 136 of 1920

[7] C. M. Ramachandran Chettiar. History of the Koṅgu country in Tamil. p. 321

CHAPTER — III

INVASION AND CONQUEST OF MADURA

The mysterious lady who appeared before Kumāra Kampaṇā while he was at Kāñchi was said to have described the pathetic condition of the Tamiḻ country owing to the tyrannical rule of the Sulṭāns of Madura. Gaṅgādēvi has described the political and social conditions in such a way that it looks like a faithful portrait of the actual state of affairs. As a result of the diabolical tyranny of the alien rule, *Vyāgrapuri*[1] (Chidambaram) had actually become the abode of tigers. "The Vimāṇa of the Sriraṅgam temple is so dilapidated that it is now the hood of Ādiśesha alone that is protecting the idol of Raṅganātha from the falling debris. The Lord of *Gajāraṇya*[2] who once killed an elephant to obtain its skin for His garment has now been reduced to that condition. The Garbagrahās (central shrines) of many temples are falling, their manḏapas (halls) are overgrown with vegetation and the wooden doors are being eaten up by white ants."

"Where there resounded once the joyous sound of the *mirudhaṅgam*[3] there is heard at present the howl of the jackal, that has made it its abode. The river Kāvēri that had been regulated by proper dams and flowed into regular channels has begun to flow in all directions. In the Agrahāras where the *yāgadhuma*[4] was largely visible and the sound of the chanting of the Vēdas was everywhere audible, we have now the offensive smelling smoke issuing from the roasting of flesh by the Muslims and their harsh voice alone is heard. The beautiful coconut trees which were gracing the gardens surrounding the city of Madura have been cut down and in their place we see plenty of Śūlas[5] with garlands made by stringing human heads together resembling in a remote manner the coconut trees. The waters of the river Tāmbraparaṅi which used to be white with sandal paste rubbed away from the breasts of the young and beautiful maidens, who were bathing in it, is now flowing red with the blood of Brahmins and cows slaughtered by the Muslims."[6]

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[1] Chidambaram is known by this name also. It came to be called so because, in days of yore, a Rishi called Vyāgrapātha with the legs of a tiger, was said to hava worshipped the Lord.

[2] Tiruvāṉaikka near Sriraṅgam.

[3] A South Indian musical instrument.

After having described the pitiable condition of the Tamiḻ country as above, the mysterious lady was said to have presented Kumāra Kampaṇā with a divine sword and ordered him to proceed against the Sulṭān of Madura who was the enemy of the world.[7] This description of the condition of the temples and the people, though poetic in character, cannot be regarded as opposed to facts of history. Ibn–Batūta and the Hindu chronicles paint equally horrible pictures of the rule of the Sulṭāns of Madura and the difficulties which the people had to experience.

What led to this deplorable condition of the Tamiḻ country ? It was due to the disappearance of the ancient

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4. Holy smoke from the sacrificial fire.
5. Sharp stakes for impaling human beings.
6. Madhurāvijayam (Tiruvandram edn.) Introduction pp. 5–6.
7. S. Tiruvenkatachari. Madhurāvijayam. p. 63.

Hindu royal families and the foundation of an alien government at Madura under the Sulṭāns. How did this Sulṭānate of Madura come into existence ? Subsequent to the Muslim invasions of Mālik Kafur and Khusuru Khān of the Khilji dynasty in A.D. 1311 and 1314 respectively, came the Tughlak invasion of the Tamiḻ country in 1323. After the conquest and annexation of Waraṅgal, the Tamiḻ country was also conquered.[8] The Pāṇḍyan chronicle assigns the year A. D. 1324 for the conquest of Madura. It mentions that Ādi Śūrattaṉ (Muhammad Tughlak) and Mālik Nemi came from Delhi defeated Parakrama Pāṇḍyadēva and conquered the Pāṇḍya country. There was a Pāṇḍya ruler called Parākrama Pāṇḍya who ruled over Madura, Rāmnāḍ and Tinnevelly districts and parts of Tanjore and Trichy districts during this period.[9] An inscription from Rāṅgiyam (Trichy Dt.) refers to the lack of government in this region about A. D. 1332,[10] and mentions one Ādi Śūrattaṉ who might be identified either with Muhammed–bin–Tughlak or one of his officers. There was utter confusion in the country on account of these Muslim invasions and the villagers of Kuḷamaṅgalam and Paṉaiyūr in Poṉṉamarāvati nāḍu fought with each other as mercenaries during that period.[11] We know that the empire of Muhammed Tughlak extended from Lahore to Ma'bar about A. D. 1330.[12] Ma'bar or the Pāṇḍya country was one of the 23 provinces of Muhammad Tughlak's empire according to Siraj–ud–din Abul Fath Umar, a lawyer at the court of Delhi.[13]

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[8] Dr. N. Venkatramanayya, E. M. E. S. I. P. 123.

[9] T. V. S. Pandarattar. History of the Pāṇḍyas in Tamil. p. 159.

[10] No. 669 of P. S. I.

[11] 670 of P. S. I.

[12] S. K. Iyengar. S. I. and Her M. I. p. 136.

[13] Elliot and Dowson. Vol. III. pp. 574–75.

Sulṭānate of Madura (1335–1371):

One Jalāl-ud-dīn Aḥsan Shāh was appointed governor of Ma'bar by Muhammad-bin-Tughlak. His recognition of the sovereignty of the Sulṭān of Delhi till A. D. 1334 is proved by the coins of Muhammad Tughlak dated A. D. 1330, 1333 and 1334.[14] Following the example of Bahā-ud-din and others who rebelled against the Sulṭān, Jalāl-ud-dīn also rose in revolt, killed the lieutenants and agents of the sovereign, usurped power and struck coins of gold and silver in his own name. On one of the coins he had the following words engraved, "He who puts his trust in the help of the Merciful, Aḥsan Shāh Sulṭān."[15] It was this Aḥsan Shāh that both Ziauddin Barāni and Ferishta refer to as Syed Hasan and Syed Hussan respectively.[16] Dr. S. K. Iyengar thought that Aḥsan Shah apparently overthrew the army which was sent against him by Muhammad Tughlak. But this view is opposed to facts because, Barāni, Ferishta and Ibn-Batūta state clearly that the army which was personally led by the Sulṭān to punish Jalāluddin never reached Madura. Owing to the outbreak of cholera in an epidemic form and on account of the numerous other rebellions which he had to deal with, Muhammad gave up his plan of reconquering the distant Ma'bar. The earliest coin of Jalāluddīn, so far available to us, bears the date of A. D. 1335 and he was the Sulṭān of Madura upto A. D. 1340.

According to Ibn-Batūta, Aḥsan Shah was killed by one of his nobles, Alāuddin Udāji, who ruled for a year. After a successful battle with the infidels, Udāji took off his helmet

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14. R. Sathianathaier. Vol. II. p. 101.
15. Foreign Notices. p. 217.
16. Elliot and Dowson. Vol. III. p. 243 and John Briggs. Ferishta. Vol. I. p. 423.

to drink water when he was killed on the spot by an arrow aimed against him by an unknown hand.[17] Dr. S. K. Iyengar thought that this 'unknown hand' might have been that of Ballāḷa III who had been planning to destroy the Sulṭānate from its very beginning.[18] A son-in-law of Udāji, assuming the name of Qutb-ud-din succeeded him. But, he was killed within forty days of his accession because his conduct did not meet with the approval of the people.[19] In spite of his short reign he had left behind him a coin bearing his name and date.[20]

The successor of Qutb-ud-din was Ghiyāth-ud-din Dāmaghan Shāh who had formerly been a soldier in the army of Muhammad Tughlak. There are two coins of Ghiyāth-ud-din bearing the legend Ghiyāth-ud-din Dāmaghan Shāh and the date A. H. 741.[21] He married a daughter of Aḥsan Shāh and so was a close relative of Ibn-Batūta. When Ghiyāth-ud-din was the Sulṭān, Ibn-Batūta visited Madura. The Moorish traveller describes the atrocities of Ghiyāth-ud-din towards the non-muslims and we have to believe him since he was an eyewitness. After narrating several unpardonable acts of the Sulṭān, Ibn-Batūta concludes "This is shameful practice and I have not seen any other sovereign adopt it. It was because of this that God hastened the end of Ghiyāth-ud-din."[22]

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17. J. R. A. S. 1909. pp. 673–75.
18. S. I. and Her M. I. p. 165.
19. Ibn–Batūta.
20. Coin No. 12 ōf Dr. Hultzsch's collection date. A. H. 740.
21. Dr. Hultzsch. J. R. A. S. Vol. 1909. p. 676.
22. K. A. N. Sastri. Foreign Notices. p. 279.

Struggle between Ballāla III and Ghiyāth-ud-din :

Ibn–Batūta also mentions an ignominous victory which Ghiyāth-ud-din won over Ballāḷa III at the battle of Kaṇṇanūr-Koppam. Ballāḷa III overthrew the Muslims with the help of a very large army. But fate was against him since he believed the words of the leader of the Muslims and then had to suffer a fatal defeat in A. D. 1342.[23] Ghiyāth-ud-din was succeeded by his nephew Nāziruddin when the former died of cholera along with other members of his family soon after his infamous victory over Ballāḷa III. When Naziruddin became the Sulṭān he showered gold on those who supported him like Alā-ud-din Khilji. Ibn-Batūta himself received three hundred pieces of gold and a robe of honour. The only available coin of Naziruddin bears the date of A. H. 745 (1344–45).[24]

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[23] Ibn–Batūta describes the struggle between Ballāḷa III and the Sulṭan of Madura as follows. "Adjoining the state of Ghiyāth-ud-din was that of an infidel sovereign named Ballāḷadev, who was one of the principal Hindu kings. His army exceeded 100,000 men besides 20,000 Muslims and other fugitives. This monarch aspired to conquer the country of Ma'bar of which the Muslim army numbered only 6000 troops, a good half of them being excellent soldiers and the rest absolutely worthless. The Muhammadans came to blows with him near the village of Koppam. He routed them and they had to fall back on Madura, their capital. Ballāḷadēv proposed to the besieged the offer of a safe conduct if they would retire leaving him occupy the fort. But they replied "We must inform our Sulṭān of this." So, Ballāḷa offered them a truce for 14 days and they wrote to the Sulṭan describing the situation." The Sulṭān of Madura and his followers never observed the truce but surrounded the Hoysaḷa forces at Kaṇṇanūr with a very strong army. The result was that Ballāḷa suffered the worst of all defeats in A. D. 1342. "Ballāḷa was taken prisoner by Nāziruddin, the nephew of Ghiyāth–ud-din. He was then led to the Sulṭān who treated him with apparent consideration till he extorted from him all his riches. Then he was pitilessly murdered and flayed. His skin stuffed with straw was hung upon the wall of Madura when I saw it in the same position." (Ibn–Batūta).

Dr. Hultzsch and Dr. S. K. Iyengar maintain that there was a break in the coinage of the Sulṭāns of Madura from 1344 to 1356 and according to the latter it was during this interval that Kumāra Kampaṇa invaded and conquered Madura.[25] But, Dr. Venkatramanayya mentions that one Qurbat Hasan was the Sulṭān of Madura from 1353 to 1371 and it was this Qurbat Hasan who was defeated and killed by Kumāra Kampaṇā in A. D. 1371.[26]

But, there are coins of three other Sulṭāns of Madura from A. D. 1356 to 1378. It has been maintained in a previous chapter that this Qurbat Hasan who is mentioned by the Muslim Historian Shamsi-sirāj-Afif was defeated by Bukka I.[27] Then the Sulṭānate was revived by one Adil Shāh who ruled Madura from 1356 to 59 as his coins prove.[28] This Adil Shāh was followed by one Fakhruddin Mubarāk Shāh for whom we have a number of coins dated A. D. 1361 to 1370. Then came the last of the Sulṭāns of Madura, Alāuddin Sikhandar Shāh whose coins are available upto A. D. 1378.

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[24] S. K. Iyengar. Op. cit., p. 169.

[25] J. R. A. S. 1909 pp. 667–83 and H. I. of S. I. p. 363.

[26] J. M. U. Vol. XI. Ma'bar from 1323 to 1371. pp. 41–65.

[27] See chapter I.

[28] S. K. Iyengar. S. I. and Her M. I. p. 169.

When did Kumāra Kampaṇā conquer Madura?

The date of the conquest of Madura by Kumāra Kampaṇa has been a much debated problem. There are as many dates as there are writers on the subject. For properly evaluating the various dates given by scholars they may be enumerated as follows.

	Authors:		*Dates:*
(1)	Dr. S. K. Iyengar	....	Prior to A. D. 1358.
(2)	K. A. Nilakanta Sastri	....	About A. D. 1364 or a little earlier.
(3)	T. V. S. Pandarattar	....	A. D. 1364.
(4)	Dr. T. V. Mahalingam	....	A. D. 1361 to 1363
(5)	Father Heras	....	A. D. 1377.
(6)	V. Rangachari	....	From 1365 to 1371.
(7)	Hayavadana Rao	....	A. D. 1371.
(8)	K. R. Venkatarama Iyer	....	A. D. 1371.

(1) Dr. S. K. Iyengar had maintained that the break in the coinage of the Sulṯāns of Madura between A. D. 1344 and 1356 was due to the conquest of Madura by Kumāra Kampaṇā. The basis on which the learned professor derived his date was an inscription from Tirukkāḷakkudi in Rāmnāḍ district. The record is dated in the 31st year of one Māṟavarmaṉ Vīra Pāṇḍya and it mentions that the times were Tulukkaṉ (Muslim) times; the dēvadāṇa lands were taxed with *Kuḍimai,* the temple worship, however, had to be conducted without any reduction; the cultivation of the temple lands was done by the tenants in turns. At this juncture came Kampaṇā Uḍaiyār, destroyed the Muslims, established orderly government and appointed many Nāyakkanmārs.[1] The date of this inscription had been fixed by the Epigraphist

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[1] S. K. Iyengar. Ancient Indsa. p. 28. No. 64 of 1916, and M. E. R. 1916. Paragraph 33.

as Friday, 8th September A. D. 1358. Following this fixation Dr. S. K. Iyengar had concluded that the conquest of Madura by Kampaṇā might have happened before A. D. 1358. On this conclusion Dr. S.K. Iyengar had explained that the break in the coinage was due to the annihilation of the Sulṭānate between 1344 and 1356. To accept this view is to concede that Kumāra Kampaṇā conquered Madura in the beginning of A. D. 1344 and continued to rule there till 1356. This is not possible and it will be proved subsequently that Kumāra Kampaṇā did not invade Madura between these two dates. Further, this break in the coinage could be explained by the fact that the previous Muslim dynasty at Madura was overthrown by a Sulṭān named Qurbat Hāsan. It has already been pointed out that Qurbat Hāsan who succeeded Nāzirud-din, did not belong to the same stock as his predecessors. He might have been a member of the Bahmani royal family since he was called Qurbat Hāsan Kaṅgu. It was this Qurbat Hāsan who was defeated by Bukka I.[2] This Qurbat Hāsan might not have issued any coin at all. However, there are also other arguments for rejecting the date. The inscriptions of Kampaṇā in the districts of Tanjore, Trichinopoly and Rāmnāḍ are dated only after 4th June A. D. 1371. If Kumāra Kampaṇā had invaded and conquered Madura before 1358, some of his inscriptions with dates later than a year after 1358 would be available in the region around Madura. For nearly thirteen years from 1358 to 1371 there are absolutely no inscriptions of Kumāra Kampaṇā in that region. Further, it has been maintained and proved that between the years 1358 to 1363, Kampaṇā was busy conquering the Śambuvarāya kingdom and not Madura.[3]

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[2] See ante chapter I. p. 2.

[3] See ante chapter 2.

Therefore, Madura was not conquered by Kampaṇā before A. D. 1358.

(2) Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and Mr. T. V. S. Paṇḍāraṭṭār give approximate dates for the conquest of Madura by Kampaṇā. The former says that it happened about A. D. 1364 or a little earlier.[4] The latter fixes the date before A. D. 1364.[5] But these dates are not supported by them with any reliable epigraphical or literary evidences.

(3) Dr. T. V. Mahalingam on the basis of an inscription (No. 64 of 1916) maintains that the 31st year of Māṟavarmaṉ Viraַ Pāṇḍya could be fixed as A. D. 1364 and therefore, Kampaṇā's invasion of Madura must have happened between A. D. 1361 and 1363. But we do not know how he was able to fix the date of the record mentioning the conquest of Madura by Kampaṇā as A. D. 1364.[6] It is certain that the inscriptions of Kampaṇā in the Tamiḻ country south of the river Kāvēri are dated only after A. D. 1371. From this year, his records are available at Kaṇṇaṉūr, Srirangam, Tirupparaitturai, Tiruvaraṉkuḷam and Tiruppullāṇi which are all situated in Trichinopoly and Rāmnāḍ districts. But none of them yields a date between A. D. 1361 and 1370. It cannot be argued that during this period Kampaṇā made no endowments to the temples or no events took place to be recorded on temple walls. The plausible answer is that Kampaṇā did not invade Madura between A. D. 1361 and 1363.

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[4] Prof. K. A. N. Sastri. The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom. p. 244.

[5] T. V. S. Paṇḍārattār. 'History of the Pāṇḍyas in Tamil'. p. 156.

[6] See M. E. R. 1916. paragraph 33. The Epigraphist has fixed the date as 8th September 1358 which is not probable. P. I. H. C. 1945. p. 196.

(4) Rev. Father Heras maintained that Kampaṇā conquered Madura in A. D. 1377 on the numismatical evidence provided by the latest coin of the Sulṯān Ala-ud-din Sikhandar Shāh dated A. H. 779 which corresponds to that date.[7] But, there is an inscription to prove that Kampaṇā died in November 1374.[8] Therefore, it was not possible for Kumara Kampaṇā to conquer Madura after his death.

(5) Prof. V. Raṅgachari was of opinion that Kampaṅā started on his campaign in A. D. 1365 and completed it in A. D. 1371.[9] Kampaṇā was busy with the conquest of the Śambuvarāya kingdom in 1362 A. D. and completed it in 1363. Even if he had invaded Madura in 1365 it would not have taken six long years for him to conquer a petty state like the Sulṯānate of Madura. Further, there are no evidences to prove that Kampaṇā started on his compaign about A. D 1365.

(6) Then, what is the date of Kampaṇā's invasion and conquest of Madura? The Maduraittalavaralāṟu says, "In Virōdhikrit, Saka 1293, Kampaṇā Udaiyār, commander of the guards of the Mysore ruler, having defeated and driven off the Muslims, took possession of the kingdom."[10] Mr. Hayāvadāṉa Rao also believes that Kampaṇā conquered Madura in A. D. 1371. The Kōiloḻugu mentions that Gōpanārya was the Governor of Śeñji during the time of Kampaṇā.

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[7] Father Heras. The Āravīḍu Dynasty of Vijayanagara, p. 106.

[8] A record from Tiruvaṇṇāmalai mentions that in Saka 1296. Jommaṇa Udaiyār, the son of Kumāra Kampaṇā made an endowment for reciting the Vēdas in memory of his late father.

[9] I. A, Vol. 43. p. 8.

[10] R. Sathianathaier. The Nāyaks of Madura. p. 374.

He drove out the Muslims from Sriraṅgam and restored the idol of Raṅganātha in Saka 1293.(1371). This is corroborated by an inscription in the temple at Sriraṅgam.[11] Dated in the same year (1371) is an inscription of Kampaṇā at Tirupullāṇi in Rāmnāḍ district which would indicate his conquest of the country round about as well.[12]

(7) Mr. K. R. Vekatarama Iyer also mentions that Kampaṇā invaded and conquered Madura in A. D. 1371 though his view that Kampaṇa was helped by Vīra Śavaṇa against the Sulṯān of Madura cannot be taken seriously.[13]

The last mentioned three authorities have arrived at an unanimous conclusion that Kampaṇa conquered Madura in A. D. 1371. But none of them has arrived at the month of the year in which the conquest must have happened. This could be done with the help of Kampaṇā's inscriptions which are found in the Jagaṉṉāthasvāmi temple at Tiruppullāṇi near Rāmēśvaram.

Inscription No.	*Saka year:*	*Cyclic year and date:*	*A. D. date:*
(1) Sewell's List of antiquities Vol. I. p. 301.	1293	Virōdhikritu 8th Vaikāsi	4th June 1371.
(2) No. 111 of 1903	-do-	Virōdhikritu Kaṟkadaka Su. 3. Wednesday	15th July 1371 (approximate)

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11. E. I. Vol. IV. P. 322.
12. Mys. Gaz. Vol. II. p. 1491.
13. K. R. Venkatarama Iyer. A Manual of Pudukkōṭṭai State. Vol. II. pp. 634–35.

(3) No. 106 of 1903	1293	Virōdhikritu Kaṉṉi Ba. 10 Monday Tiruvōṇam.	20th Sept. 1371 (approximate)[14]

These three inscriptions mention the various endowments and gifts made by Kumāra Kampaṇā to the temple and also give minute details of dates on which they were inscribed. Kampaṇā would have made these endowments, only after his victory over the Sulṭān of Madura. As a pious Hindu, Kampaṇā must have had a holy bath at Rāmēśvaram after defeating the Sulṭān and then made some gifts to the temple. The earliest of these inscriptions is dated Virōdhikritu, 8th Vaikāśi which is equivalent to 4th June 1371. Therefore, the conquest of Madura may be regarded to have taken place in April or May 1371.

Who was the Sulṭān defeated by Kampaṇā?

The next important issue that must be discussed is the identification of the Sulṭān of Madura who was defeated by Kampaṇa. For a proper identification of the Sulṭān's name, it will be convenient to give the various chronological lists of the Sulṭans of Madura according to the different historians as follows:

	Dr. Hultzsch[15]	*Robert Sewell and S. K. Iyengar*[16]	*Dr. N. Venkataramanayya*
1)	Sheriff Jalāluddin Aḥsan Shāh	Jalāluddin Aḥsan Shāh A. D. 1335–1340	Jalāluddin Aḥsan Shāh 1334–1339
2)	Alāuddin Udāji Shāh	Alāuddin Udāji 1340	Alāuddin Udāji 1339–40

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[14] S. I. I. Vol. 8. Nos. 392 and 400.

[15] Ref. article by Dr. Hultzsch – The coinage of the Sulṭāns of Madura in J. R. A. S, 1909.

[16] Madurattala varalaru (மதுரைத்தல வரலாறு)
R. Sathinathaier. The Nayaks of Madura. p. 374.

3) Qutbuddin Firōz Shāh	Qutbuddin Firōz Shah 40 days	Qutbuddin 1340
4) Ghiyāth-ud-din Damaghan Shah	Ghiyāth-ud-din Dāmaghan Shāh 1341—42	Ghiyāth-ud-din Dāmaghan Shāh 1341—43
5) Nāziruddin Muhummad Shah	Nāziruddin 1342	Nāziruddin 1343—52
Break in the coinage	Break in the coinage	Qurbat Hasan Kaṅgu 1353—71
6) Adil Shāh	Adil Shāh 1356	Nil
7) Fakhruddin Mubrāk Shāh	Fakhruddin Mubrāk Shāh 1359—1368	Nil
8) Alāuddin Sikhandar Shāh[17]	Alāuddin Sikhandar Shāh 1378[18]	Nil[19]

Of the three lists of the Sulṭāns of Madura one peculiar feature may be noted. Dr. Venkataramanayya thinks that there were no Sultāns after Qurbat Hasan Kaṅgu and he ruled upto A. D. 1371. But this name does not find a place in the other two lists. The name Qurbat Hasan is mentioned by the Muslim historian Shāms-i-Sirāj Afif[20] only and it is not corroborated by inscriptional or numismatic evidences. Then, how are we to accept him as one of the Sulṭāns of Madura on the evidence of Shāms-i-Sirāj Afif only? But, Dr. Venkataramanayya would have us believe that it was Qurbat Hasan Kaṅgu who was defeated and killed by Kampaṇa by the following arguments.

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[17] J. R. A. S. 1909. pp. 667–83.

[18] H. I. of S. I. p. 363,

[19] J. M, U. Vol. XI. Ma'bar from 1323–1371. pp. 41–65.

[20] Elliot and Dowson. Vol. III. p. 339.

(1) According to inscriptional evidences, Princes Śavaṇā Uḍaiyār and Kampaṇa Uḍaiyār invaded Madura and tried to oust Qurbat Hasan Kaṅgu from power about A. D. 1352–53 though it cannot be asserted that the Sulṭān suffered defeat.

(2) Bukkan, an enemy who was on the frontiers of Ma'bar with a large army and powerful elephants, invaded Ma'bar, defeated Qurbat Hasan and killed him. Then he took possession of the city of Madura.[21]

By these arguments Dr. Venkataramanayya maintains that Kampaṇa invaded Madura twice, first during A.D.1352-53 and secondly in A. D. 1371. From 1353 to 1371 Qurbat Hasan Kaṅgu continued to be the Sulṭān of Madura during the entire period. Further, he presses into service some of the inscriptions of Vīra Śavaṇa Uḍaiyār and Kampaṇa. Those inscriptions are found at Poṉṉeri (Chingleput Dt.) Tiruvaṇṇāmalai (N. A. Dt.) Śendalai (Tanjore Dt.) and Karūr (Trichy Dt.). In the next argument he mentions that it was one Bukkan who invaded and conquered Madura. Mr. S. Tiruvenkatachari has faithfully followed Dr. Venkataramanayya in his recent work "Madhurāvijayam." He also maintains that it was Qurbat Hasan Kaṅgu who was defeated and killed by Kampaṇa some time before A. D. 1371.[22]

These arguments of Dr. Venkataramanayya can be easily refuted. It is not possible to maintain that Śavaṇa Uḍaiyār and Kumāra Kampaṇa invaded Madura about A. D. 1352–53. The inscriptional evidences which he brings forward do not mention anything about the joint invasion of Kampaṇa and Śavaṇa Uḍaiyār. Those inscriptions are found far away from Madura. As we have already seen, the earliest inscription of

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[21] Dr. Venkataramanayya. J. M. U. Vol. XI.

[22] Madhurāvijayam, Introduction. p. 52.

Kumāra Kampaṇa in the region around Madura is dated 4th June 1371. Śavaṇa Udaiyār did not take part in the campaign against Madura undertaken by Kumāra Kampaṇa. Secondly, Shams-i-Sirāj Afif who mentions about Qurbat Hasan, says that he was defeated by one *Bakan*. I have already maintained that during the reign of Harihara I, his younger brother Bukka I had been sent against Madura.[23] Shams-i-Sirāj also says that Bakan invaded Madura soon after the accession of Firoz Shah Tughlak which is about A. D. 1352. Therefore, this Qurbat Hasan could have been defeated and taken prisoner by Bukka I and not by Kumāra Kampaṇa. But, this victory of Bukka I did not prove to be a permanent one and soon the Sulṭānate was revived by one Adil Shāh who was succeeded by two others, Fakhruddin Mubrāk Shāh (A.H.761-770) and Alāuddin Sikhandar Shāh (A. H. 770-779) according to numismatic evidences.

But, Dr. Venkataramanayya refuses to accept this numismatic evidence as a valid proof for the existence of three other Sulṭāns subsequent to Qurbat Hasan. He says, "It must be pointed out that the testimony of the coins attributed to the Sulṭāns of Madura by the numismatists is not trustworthy in the absence of confirmatory evidence from other sources. There is no reason for believing that the Sulṭāns who are said to have ruled in Ma'bar subsequent to the reign of Nāzir-ud-din Dāmaghan Shāh did actually rule the country. In the first place, apart from the suggestion of the numismatists, there is little evidence to show that the Sulṭāns mentioned in these coins ruled over Ma'bar rather than some other part of the world. The choice of Ma'bar as the kingdom under their sway is arbitrary. Excepting the fact that the coins were discovered in South India there seems to be no valid reason for justifying this choice."[23(a)]

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[23] See ante. chapter I.

[23(a)] Dr. Venkataramanayya. J M. U. Vol. XI. pp. 41–65.

These contentions of the great scholar are an absolute criticism of the numismatic evidence for historical research. The term Ma'bar refers only to Southern India, especially the Pāṇḍya coastal region. Literary evidences, both foreign and indigenous, refer to the rule of the Sulṭāns in Madura. The existence of coins cannot be easily brushed aside as an imaginary one. It cannot be easily maintained that there were no successors of Qurbat Hasan and the coins of the later Sulṭāns are fabricated by the numismatists. They cannot make new coins though they might interpret them in a wrong way. The coins mention one Adil Shāh, Fakhruddin Mubrāk Shāh and Alāuddin Sikhandar Shāh.[24]

Now, of these three Sulṭāns who was the person defeated by Kumāra Kampaṇā? Was he killed in battle or driven out of Madura? I have tried to maintain that the date of the conquest of Madura by Kampaṇā may be fixed as April or May 1371. Then, who was the Sulṭān of Madura on that date? It should now be decided whether it was Fakhruddin Mubrāk Shāh for whom we have a number of coins dated A. H. 761 to 770 (1359 to 1370) or Alāuddin Sikhandar Shāh whose coins bear the Hejira date of A. H. 774 and 777 (A. D. 1378). If the numismatic evidence is to be believed, certainly, the Sulṭān who was defeated by Kumāra Kampaṇā must be Fakhruddin Mubrāk Shāh, because the coins of his successor are dated upto A. D. 1378 when Kumāra Kampaṇā was not alive. Therefore it was Fakhruddin Mubrāk Shāh who was defeated by Kampaṇā in A. D. 1371.

Was the Sulṭān killed in battle:

Gaṅgādevi describes at full length the battle between the forces of Kumāra Kampaṇā and the Sulṭān of Madura and then says that there was a duel between Kampaṇā and the

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[24] J. R. A. S. Ibid. pp. 673–75.

Sulṭān.[25] "Seated on his agile horse, king Kampa who was the glory of the Karnāṭa race, avoiding the sword blow aimed by the Yavana, cut off in an instant the head of the latter. The head of the Śūratrāṇa (Sulṭān) fell on the ground, the head that never knew the art of cajoling servant-like, the head that had borne the royal burden of the Turushka Śamrājya and had not bowed down even to Gods."[26] We have already noted the statement of the royal poetesss about the duel between Kampaṇā and Rājanārāyaṇa Śambuvarāya and the death of the latter at the battlefleld. There is an inscription to prove that Rājanārāyaṇa Śambuvarāya was not killed in battle but was captured prisoner and then was recognised as a subordinate of Kampaṇā. Can we apply the same conclusion in the case of the Sulṭān of Madura also? Though Dr. Venkataramanayya doubts about the duel and the death of the Sulṭān there is no evidence to prove the contrary.[27] So, it was Fakhruddin Mubrāk Shāh who fell a victim to the might of Kumāra Kampaṇā. The Rāmabhyūdayam of Śāḷuva Narasimha confirms this event when it mentions that Śāḷuva Maṅgu co-operated with Kumāra Kampaṇā in his campaigns against the Śambuvarāya and the Sulṭān of Madura and the latter lost his life in battle.[28] Therefore we have to believe Gaṅgādēvi when she says that the Sulṭān of Madura was killed by Kumāra Kampaṇā. If this is accepted, how are we to explain the presence of the coins of another Sulṭān of Madura, Alāūddin Sikhandar Shāh till A. D. 1377. The answer is that after the death Fakhruddin Mubrāk Shāh, his successor would have retreated from the scene and continued to rule a part of the Madura region and struck coins in his own name. It was during the reign of Harihara II (1376-1404) that the final traces of the Madura Sulṭānate were completely destroyed and perhaps, the last Sulṭān Alāuddin Sikhandar Shāh met with the same fate as that of his predecessor.[29]

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[25] Madhurāvijayam. Canto. 9.

[26] Ibid. Stanzas 35 and 36.

[27] Dr. Venkataramanayya. Op. cit.

[28] Sources. p. 32.

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[29] R, Sathianathaier. Vol. II. p. 136.

CHAPTER — IV

KUMĀRA KAMPAṆĀ'S RULE IN THE TAMIḶ COUNTRY.

Kampaṇā's viceroyalty may be regarded as the brightest chapter in the history of Vijayanagar rule in the Tamiḻ country. He was not merely a conqueror but was also the first viceroy who infused into the Tamiḻ country the true spirit and significance for which Vijayanagar came into existence. He tried successfully to restore and preserve the ancient religions and temples in the country. Though he extinguished the Hindu rule of the Śambuvarāyas in the northern part of Tamiḻ-nād, yet he saved the country from the abominable misrule of the Sultāns of Madura. Kampaṇā's main aims were the establishment of the Dharmā, the protection of the religions and temples and the restoration of peace and order. Now, we must consider his rule in two aspects. One of them is his personal activity in carrying on the administration efficiently and the other is the services rendered by his able officers. It has already been mentioned to what a pitiable condition the Tamiḻ country had been reduced on account of the Muslim invasions and the rule of the Sulṭāns of Madura. Many temples had been plundered and left uncared for. Irrigation works were neglected and this neglect would have certainly resulted in famines. Brahmins were prosecuted and prevented from performing sacrifices, cows were slaughtered and the cultivation of fine arts completely given up.[1] It was this disturbed social, religious and economic conditions that Kampaṇā had to set right.

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1. Madurāvijayam. Introduction. pp. 5 and 6.

Temple administration under Kumāra Kampaṇā :-

The South Indian temples were the repository of Hindu culture and civilisation from early days. "As land-holder, employer and consumer of goods and services, as bank, school and museum, as hospital and theatre, in short, as a nucleus which gathered round itself all that was best in the arts of civilised life and regulated them with humaneness born of the sprit of Dharmā, the mediaeval India temple has few parallels in the annals of mankind."[2] The Muslim invasions and the rule of the Sulṭāns in Madura completely dislocated the services which the temples had been performing from ancient days. The Vijayanagar empire which was founded to protect the Hindu civilisation, stood as a bulwark against Muslim aggression in the South. The rulers of Vijayanagar restored worship in the temples, repaired old temples and towers, settled disputes among temple servants and made extensive endowments in the shape of jewels, lands. taxes and other sources of income. The first of the Vijayanagar Viceroys to do this beneficient work was Kumāra Kampaṇā. He seems to have reorganised temple administration and to have effected some important changes in the personnel of temple servants. The temples and their administration seem to have been directly under the supervision of Kampaṇā and his officers carried out his orders effectively. In this task, Kampaṇā and his officers were helped by the Kaikkōḷās[3] who were living in the Tirumadaviḷāgams of the temples. Many of the old temple supervisors were removed and new officers were appointed.[4]

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[2] K. A. N. Sastri. Cōḻas. Vol. II. p. 504.

[3] Weavers.

[4] P. I H. C. 1945.

To mention the various personal gifts of Kumāra Kampaṇā to the temples in the Tamiḻ country is to summarise his benevolent temple administration. An inscription from Poṉpaṭṭi (Arantāṅgi Taluk, Tanjore Dt.) mentions the gift of taxes for the midnight service of God Viṟṟirundaperumāḷ (வீற்றிருந்த பெருமாள்).[5] A record from Tiruppuṭkuḻi dated 19th November 1365 mentions the gift of a jewel by Kampaṇā to God Vijayarāghavaperumāḷ.[6] Another inscription mentions the gift of the village of Umaiyāḷēndal to the Sivā temple at Vēdal (N.A. Dt.).[7] The village with all its incomes and without liabilities such as, tax on loom, tax on cash incomes, kuḍimai, sūlavari, tax on gold, tax on rice, tax levied in the month of Kārttigai, tax on harvest, good bull, good-goat, tax on horses, tax on fishing etc., and any other future taxes, was given as a free gift for the services of God and for a perpetual lamp.[8] Inscription No. 324 of 1911 from Mādambākkam, (N. A. Dt.) is an order of Kumāra Kampaṇī which was communicated to the trustees of the temple. According to the order, the whole village was given as Tirunāmattukkāṇi, free of all taxes whether present or future. "We have given this village for worship and repairs as a Śarvamāṉya grant to this temple so that it may last for ever."[9] An inscription from Tirukkōyilur (S. A. Dt.) dated 19th December 1362 records a tax free gift of land, for the pacification of Kampaṇā's indisposition, to one Dēvarāja Bhaṭṭar, a temple priest for worshipping God.[10] From Tiruvadigai (S. A. Dt.) comes another record, inscribed in Kanarese characters dated 31st December 1370, which records the tax-free gift of the village of Śattipaṭṭu for the expenses connected with the offerings and worship of God.[11] No. 40 of 1922 from Tiruvāmāttūr mentions that certain lands in Vayaḷaṉinallur were leased out permanently and the income was to be used for the celebration of festivals in the temple. At Ulappāḍu in Chittoor district Kumāra Kampaṇā set up a new stone idol of God Śelvanārāyaṇa perumāḷ by the advice of one Bāyakāra Allāḻanātha, a scholar of Ilaiyūr,[12] In 1367 Kampaṇa made a gift of 300 kuḷis (one acre) of land to one Pidavūrudaiyāṉ for singing sacred hymns in the temple.[13] In A. D. 1368 the village of Araśanēndal was given by Kampaṇā as dēvadāna to the Śiva temple at Tirukkōyilūr.[14] An order of Kumāra Kampaṇā issued to the trustees of the temple at Tiruvaḍikkuṉṟu (Śeñji Taluk) mentions the remission of taxes on temple lands.[15] From Kaṇṇanūr in Trichinopoly district, we get an inscription dated 28th June 1372, which mentions that the temple of Pōsaḻāeśvarmuḍaiya Nāyanār had been converted into a mosque by the Muslims. Now, it was reconsecrated by Kumāra Kampaṇā after his victory over the Sulṭān of Madura.[16] A lithic record from Śaḍayampāḻayam in Coimbatore district dated Saka 1295, Pramādicha, mentions that during the rule of Vīra Kampaṇā Uḍaiyār, one Āvudaiyarāja repaired the temple of Tirunāgēśvaramuḍaya Nāyanār which was spoiled by the Muslims when they invaded the country. Another record from the same place with the same date mentions that the Vināyaka temple at Kūraiyūr which suffered during the Muslim invasions was also repaired.[17]

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[5] 617 of 1902,

[6] 18 of 1899.

[7] 78 of 1908.

[8] M. E. R. 1909 paragraph 67.

[9] M. E. R. 1912 paragraph 49.

[10] 351 of 1921.

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[11] 375 of 1921.
[12] 172 of 1933.
[13] 216 of 1935.
[14] 235 of 1935.
[15] 220 of 1940.
[16] 162 of 1936. The temple was erected by the Hoyśaḷa rulers in the Tamiḻ country.

Gaṅgadēvi mentions that the mysterious lady who advised Kampaṇa to march against the Sulṭān of Madura, had also given him an account of the condition of the temples at Chidambaram, Tiruvānaikkā, Sriraṅgam and Madura. It was also a request to Kampaṇa to restore worship in those temples. Though there are no direct evidences to prove the benevolence of Kumāra Kampaṇā to these temples, we can be sure of his services there, According to the Guruparambarai, Vēdāntadēsika repaired and consecrated the Tillaigovindarāja shrine at Chidambaram with the help of Gōpaṇa though there was great opposition from the Ṡaivites.[18] The Pāṇḍyaṇ chronicle gives a very interesting account of the conquest of Madura from the Sultāns and the restoration of worship in the Ṡiva and Viṣhṇu temples there. "Kampaṇudēvar, a native of Karnāṭa, having conquered the Muslims, took possession of the kingdom. He opened the Ṡiva and Viṣhṇu temples which had been locked up for a very long time. When the Ṡiva temple at Madura was opened, Kampaṇā obtained a personal view of the God and the Goddess. Things were found precisely as on the day when the temple was shut; the lamp that was lighted on that day, the sandalwood paste, the garland of flowers and the ornaments used on festival days were now found to be exactly as it was usual to find them in the evenings of those festival days. Kampaṇa on seeing this miracle, closed his eyes and with great piety made the customary offerings; he gave many villages and jewels to the temple and issued ordinances for the regular performance of worship.[19] The supplementary manuscripts inform us that Kampaṇa removed the sandal paste covering the idols in the Śiva ānd Vishṇu temples. The worship and services which had been discontinued since the Muslims began to rule over Madura were now restored.[20] Though this account from the chronicles seem to be curious and doubtful, yet the fact that worship in the temples at Madura was restored by Kumāra Kampaṇā is evident.

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[17] Nos. 135 and 136 of 1920.

[18] Dr. T. V. Mahalingam. Ad. and Soc. life. p. 325. Foot Note.

Besides these restorations of worship in the temples of Southern India, Kumāra Kampaṇā, removed many of the old superintendents of the temples and new officers were appointed. Among the officers appointed, one Karuṇākaradaśaṉ and one Aḻagiya Tiruchittambalamuḍayāṉ deserve special mention.[21] The latter was appointed as the Kaṅgāṇi of several temples. An inscription from Kāñchipuram dated A. D. 1368 mentions that the Mahēśvaras and the Sthānattār of the temples of Tiruvīrattāṉamuḍaiyār and Muttikkoḍutta Nāyanār recognised him as the supervisor of the above temples.[22] The same individual is said to have been conferred the hereditary right of supervising the Śiva temple at Magaral in Chingleput Dt. in July 1368.[23] This Aḻagiya Tiruchittambalam Uḍayāṉ was the son of one Bhuvanēkabāhudēva, a Mahēśvara of the Kuḻandaiyāṇḍār temple at Māḍambākkam (N. A. Dt.).[24]

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[19] Taylor. Oriental Historical Manuscripts. Vol. I. p. 35 and Father Heras. Op. cit., p. 104,

[20] Ibid.

[21] Nos. 1 and 27 of 1921.

[22] 52 of 1921.

[23] No. 152 of 1923.

[24] No. 228 of 1919.

Settlement of disputes among the temple servants :

From the inscriptions of the period we know that there was an acute disagreement among the various grades of temple servants such as the Dēvaradiyārs, Iṣhabattaḷiyilārs and the Padiyilārs.[25] It is likely that these groups referred to the three grade of Dēvadāśis. During the period of confusion preceding Veṉṟumaṉkoṇda Śambuvarāya's rule many of these temple servants had either died or left their services. An enquiry was set up at the Tiruvoṟṟiyūr temple during the 5th year of Rājanārāyaṇa Śambuvarāya. It was found that the most important grievance among them was that all of them were doing more work than usual. Another grievance related to precedence in the order of services which the various servants were doing. Thereupon, the Mahēsvaras, the Trustees, the Nāttār, the accountant and the Kaikkōḷas of the temple met in the vyākarṇamaṇḍapa at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr and arrived at the following settlement.

1) The Iṣhabattaḷiyilārs† were to assist the Padiyilārs.
2) The Dēvaraḍiyars were exempted from menial work and given the work of the Padiyilārs.*
3) The Iṣhabattaḷiyilārs were also to perform dance but they were exempted from carrying the fly-whisk during festivals.[26]

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[25] No. 212 of 1912. They were the different classes among the temple servants.

[26] P. I. H. C. 1945.

† Iṣhabattaḷiyilārs or Idapattaliyilār (இஷபத்தளியிலார் - இடபத்தளியிலார்) were persons who dedicated themselves as temple servants. The emblem of the bull was punched on their shoulders to show that they were specially intended to serve in Siva temples.

* Padiyilār (பதியிலார்) Virgin and unmarried women who became temple servants.

Two inscriptions from the Tiruvoṛṛiyūr temple refer to a dispute among the above mentioned temple servants during the time of Kumāra Kampaṇā. One of them dated 11th February 1369 records that the order of precedence in service to be followed by the Iṣhabattaḷiyilārs and Devaraḍiyārs as settled in the 5th year of Rājanārāyaṇa Śambuvarāya was found unsatisfactory.[27] So, Kampaṇī appointed his treasurer Viṭṭappar to enquire into the matter and to introduce the necessary changes. The second inscription is dated A.D.1370 and it mentions that the temple authorities assembled in the Vyākarṇamandapa under the leadership of one Koṅgarāyar and settled the order of precedence to be followed during services in the temple.[28]

It is inferable from these two records that Vittappar made a settlement which did not satisfy the temple servants. So, Kampaṇa had to appoint a new officer who seems to have made a partial settlement. The result of the settlement was that the Iṣhabattaḷiyilārs were required to serve in the shrine of the God and Dēvaradiyārs in that of the Goddess on festival occasions within the temple. A different procedure was to be adopted when the idols were taken in procession through the streets into the maṇḍapas, gardens, tanks or to other sanctified spots and when minor deities were taken through the streets. Even this settlement was found unsatisfactory and the entire question cropped up again during the reign of Hariharā II.[29]

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[27] No. 208 of 1912.

[28] No. 195 of 1912.

[29] P. I. H. C, 1945.

CHAPTER — V

OFFICERS OF KUMĀRA KAMPAṆĀ

In carrying out the difficult task of administration in the Tamil̤ country, Kumāra Kampaṇā was assisted by a team of officers who were known as Mahāpradhān̤i, Dan̤n̤āyaka, Treasurer, Ōlaināyakham, Aḍaippam, Kaṅgāṇi and Śvami-durōgakkaṇḍaṇ.[30].

Śomappa Dan̤n̤āyaka:

He was the Mahāpradhān̤i and Dan̤n̤āyaka of Kumāra Kampaṇā. Śōmappa seems to have been associated with Kampaṇā from the very early period of his activities in the Tamil̤ country. The earliest record of Kumāra Kampaṇā in the Tamil̤ country dated 24th September 1352 from Āvūr near Tiruvaṇṇāmalai mentions the gift of a village called Śōmanāthapuram on the northern bank of the river Southern Peṇṇār by Śōmappa Uḍaiyār.[31] All gifts to the temples and other religious institutions were carried out by the Mahāpradhān̤i. An inscription from Tiṭṭaikkuḍi (S.A.Dt.) mentions his gift of the village of Attiyūr to the temple.[32] A record from Achiruppākkam dated A. D. 1361 refers to a gift of land to a monastery at Kāñchipuram by Śōmappa and Koppaṇār.[33] In 1363, Śōmappa was ordered by Kampaṇā to grant a śarvamāṇya land to the temple at Brahmadēśam (N. A. Dt.).[34] Besides this supervision and execution of the royal decrees for the restoration and rehabilitation of temples, the Mahāpradhāṇi had also to see that the temple servants were properly treated and given houses to live in. Inscription No. 203 of 1921 registers the free colonisation of the maḍaviḻāgam by the temple servants. The taxes which they had to pay were to be utilised for worship and repairs to the temple at Śērkkāḍu (N. A. Dt.). This pious gift was made by Śōmappa for the continuity of Kampanā's rule and the settlements came to be called Śōmappa Uḍaiyār maḍaviḻāgam. An inscription from Marakkāṇam registers the order of the Mahāpradhāṇi remitting the taxes in cash, due from certain classes of people living in the maḍaviḷāgam of the temple and the foundation of a new street near the temple. The taxes which were remitted were to be used for repairs and worship in the temple of Tiruppūniśvaram Uḍaiyār.[35] From Kunṟattūr (Chingleput Dt.) comes a record which mentions that Śōmappa assigned the taxes due from the Kaikkōḻars residing in the Tirumaḍaviḻāgam to the temple for conducting the spring festival in the first month of the year (Chittirai).[36] No. 203 of 1932 from Eduru in Chittoor district records a śarvamāṉya grant of the old dēvadāṉa lands of the temple at Viḍaiyūr together with two other villages and several taxes accruing from the temple precincts by the order of Śōmappa Daṉṉāyakā. It also mentions that the festivals and offerings in the temple had been discontinued for more than 50 years.

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[30] His duty seems to have been that of punishing those who proved traitors to the ruler and to the temples.

[31] M. E. R. 1920 paragraph 38.

[32] No. 13 of 1903.

[33] No. 250 of 1901.

[34] No. 272 of 1915.

Mr. Tiruvenkatachari mentions that Śōmappa was a great Sanskrit Scholar and he erected a magnificant temple at Mulbāgal to God Śōmanātha and richly endowed it.[37] An inscription from Kolar praises him in very high terms. "Kampaṇā's minister, magnanimous, endowed with numerous good qualities, of upright conduct, well versed in several branches of learning, exalted by his perfect prosperity, skilled in politics was the illustrious Śōmappa."[38] Even though he had the suffix Daṉṉāyaka, Śōmappa was not a military officer since the inscriptions mention his civil duties only. He had to perform various duties in restoring and rehabilitating the temples in the Tamiḻ country.

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[35] No. 34 of 1919.

[36] 190 of 1930.

[37] Madhurāvijayam. Introduction. p. 63.

Gaṇḍāraguli Mārayya Nāyaka :

Another important officer of Kumāra Kampaṇā was Gaṇḍāraguḷi Mārayya Nāyaka, the son of Śōmappa Daṇṇanāyaka. We have already noted how this officer was given the village of Aṉṉamaṅgalapaṟṟu as a *jīvitā* for his victory over Rājanārāyaṇa Śambuvarāya and for capturing him prisoner. Mārayya Nāyaka was said to have destroyed many of the fortresses of the Śambuvarāya and so he was given the title of 'Ariya Araṇaḻitta' (one who destroyed the strong fortresses).[39] An inscription from Mādambākkam (N. A. Dt.) summarises the exploits, character and greatness of the leading personalities of the period including Gaṇḍāraguḷi Mārayya Nāyaka. The record is in the form of a poem comparable to the Meykīrtis of the Chōḻa and the Pāṇḍya monarchs and consists of 10 lines of beautiful Tamiḻ. On account of its importance it is given below in the original.[40]

1) பூமேவு தாரளகம் பூண்டகத் திருமடந்தை தாமேவு
மாலைபுனை மார்பில் சிறந்திலங்க
2) சென்றதிசை வென்றுவரச் செயமடந்தை தோள்மேவ
வென்றிபுனை
3) மேவலர்கள் அடிவணங்க மேகமலி வளகிரியும்
உலகுபுகழ் வாரிக்கார் புக்கணனும்
4) காலமுகில்போல் வழங்கு கம்பணனும் கொண்டாட.
மண்டலீகர் அடிபரவ யாப்புலவர் வளம்பாட

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[38] E. C. Vol. X. Kolar 222. p. 64.

[39] 255 of 1935.

[40] No. 268 of 1919.

5) கண்டவர்கள் மனமகிழ காசினியும் கலிதீரச்
சம்பனரண் பலவழித்துச் சம்பனையும்
கைக்கொண்டு
6) வெம்பரியை மேற்கொண்டு வெரும் உலகு தும்பறுத்து
தனக்குநிகர் தானான சோமய்யதன்னாயகன்
மனங்களிக்க
7) மண்புரந்த மாரப்பன் முறைமை நெறிதவராத
மூவராயகண்டன் கரைமலியும் வேல்தடக்கை
கனைகழல் கண்டாரகுளி
8) கருணைவழிமுதலாகக் காணியாகப்பெற்ற அருணமனை
மதிள்புடைசூழ் அண்ணமங்கலப்பற்றில்
9) வாளாண்ட நெடுமாலயன் அவ்வானவர்கோன்
வந்திறைஞ்சும் குழந்தை வளம்பதியீசர்
கோலமலர்த்தாள் வணங்கி
10) கண்டகோபுரம் கண்டு கைதொழுவார்
அண்டராகுவார் அனைவரும் தொழவே.

We know from this inscription that Bukka I and Kumāra Kampaṇā were very much pleased with Gaṇḍāraguḷi for capturing many of the impregnable fortresses of the Śambuvarāya and for having made him a prisoner. His father Sōmappa was overwhelmed with pride on hearing the exploits of his brave son. The title of 'Muvarāyakaṇḍan̤' was bestowed on him by Kampaṇā besides a free gift of the village of Aṇṇamaṅgalappar̤r̤u. In that village in commemoration of his victory, Gaṇḍāraguḷi caused to be constructed a tower in the second prakara of the Kuḷandaiyāṇḍār temple in A. D. 1363 soon after the defeat of the Śambuvarāya.

Inscription No. 236 of 1928 informs us that Gaṇḍāraguḷi Mārayya Nāyaka founded a village called Śōmappa Dan̤n̤anāyaka chaturvēdimaṅgalam in memory of his father. He converted it into a śarvamān̤ya village and it is now known as Śattampādi in Tiṇḍivan̤am Taluk (S.A. Dt.). It was divided into 42 shares of which two shares were given to the temple and other forty shares were distributed among 40 brahmins. A record from Tirukkōyilūr registers the gift of a coconut garden by the trustees of the temple for the merit of Mārayya Nāyaka in recognition of his various gifts and endowments to the Śiva temple.[41] From these facts we know that Gaṇḍāraguḷi Mārayya was not merely a great soldier but also a pious philanthrophist.

Āṉegoṇḍi Viṭṭappar:

The third important officer of Kumāra Kampaṇā in the Tamiḷ country was Āṉegoṇḍi Viṭṭappar. As his title suggests, he was a native of Āṉegoṇḍi. He was a brahmin, son of Apparāju of the Bhārdvāja gōtra and the treasury officer of Kampaṇa.[42] An inscription from Kūrmāyi in Chittoor district dated 7th September 1361 mentions that Śōmappa Uḍaiyār was the Pradhāṉi and Viṭṭappar was the Bhaṇḍāri (Treasurer) of Kumāra Kampaṇa.[43] These two officers issued an order to to one Meydēvar who was the subordinate treasury officer in Pulinādu to assign certain duties in kind on all articles that passed through that province for the services of supplying a garland and a perpetual lamp to the Viṣhṇu temple at Kurmayi. The articles mentioned are salt, gingelly, cotton, arecanut, pepper etc. A record from Tiruppaṉaṅgāḍu (N. A. Dt.) dated 1st February 1370 mentions about Treasurer Viṭṭappar and his subordinate Nambi Āḻvār Koṅgarāyar who appointed three persons to perform lamp services to the temple. They had to supply one ollock of ghee and two measures of milk daily to the temple.[44] The same information is mentioned in No. 249 of 1906 and the officer mentioned along with Viṭṭappar was Aḍaippam Lakkappar.

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[41] No. 255 of 1935.

[42] No. 47 of 1928.

[43] No. 309 of 1912·

[44] No. 248 of 1906.

Two other inscriptions from Villivākkam and Madurantakam in Chingleput district dated 22nd June 1373 mention about Viṭṭappar. The second of the records informs us that he provided for a festival in the Śivā temple at Madurāntakam.[45] No. 47 of 1938 from Śrirangam dated 13th May 1373 registers the gift of a stone monastery in Vikramachōḷaṉ Tiruvīthi,[46] to Pradhāṇi Viṭṭappar for having recovered some lands from private parties. But he dedicated it to the temple with the approval of Kumāra Kampaṇa.[47] From this record we can infer the date when Viṭṭappar succeeded Sōmappa as Pradhāṇi and we can also point out that the idol of Śriranganātha was re-consecrated before this date. An inscription from the Ēkāmbarēśvara temple at Kāñchi dated 18th July 1374, mentions Viṭṭappar as the Pradhāṇi of Kampaṇā and that he founded a brahmin village named Rāmadēvinallūr in the name of Rāmadēvi one of the queens of Kampaṇā.[48]

Kampaṇā's foremost aim in the Tamiḻ country was to restore the temples to their ancient position. That was also the aim of the Śambuvarāya rulers. Kampaṇā continued their policy of restoring idols and worship in such temples which were left uncared for, repairing them wherever necessary, settling disputes among the servants of the temple and endowing them with plenty of gifts. In this task, treasurer Viṭṭappar played a significant part. An important inscription from Māḍambākkam dated 24th July 1374 mentions an order of Kumāra Kampaṇā which was carried out by Viṭṭappar. The order which was communicated to the trustees of the temple by Viṭṭappar ran as follows: "This village, the whole village limited by its four boundaries including the village waste, wet-land and garden with the taxes accruing from it, such as communal obligations, fees on cotton looms, caste obligations, tax on oil mills, tax on bowmen, encroachment fines, fishing tax, tax on trees, taxes on the ploughs, good bull, good cow, good goat etc., and other taxes which may be levied by us (Kampaṇā) in future, we have given as a free gift to this temple for worship and repairs in order that it may last for ever."[49] At times, Viṭṭappar was also commissioned to settle disputes among temple servants.[50]

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[45] Nos. 171 and 172 of 1919.

[46] One of the streets in Srīrangam.

[47] M. E. R. 1938.

[48] No. 351 of S. I. I. Vol. IV. So far we know about Gaṅgādēvi, the authoress of Madurāvijayam as the queen of Kampaṇā. But this inscription givrs this interesting information.

Gōpaṇārya Gōpaṇāṅgaḷ :

He was a brahmin officer of Kumāra Kampaṇā belonging to the Āpastamba Śūtra and Bhārdvāja Gōtra,[51] We have no information to decide, when Gōpaṇā entered the service of Kumāra Kampaṇā but he is mentioned in inscriptions as early as A. D. 1361. To begin with, Gōpaṇā was a subordinate officer in charge of temples under Śōmappa Daṇṇāyaka. An inscription from Achiruppākkam refers to the fact that Gōpaṇā granted some lands in that village to a monastery at Kāñchi according to the orders of Śōmappa Uḍaiyār.[52] Another record from Brahmadēśam (S. A. Dt.) dated 5th April, 1363 registers the order of Gōpaṇā remitting the taxes on the lands belonging to the Śiva temples at Brahmadēśam and Rājarāja Chaturvēdimaṅgalam.[53]

Three inscription from Kāñchipuram mention the part played by Gōpaṇā as the general supervisor of temples in the

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[49] No. 324 of 1911 and M. E. R. 19J2. Paragraph 49.

[50] See ante. The settlement of disputes among temple servants.

[51] E. I. Vol. III. p. 225.

[52] No. 250 of 1901.

[53] No. 184 of 1918.

Tamil̠ country. In these records he is mentioned as Gōpa̠ṉaṅgal which is perhaps a Kanarese form of Gōpaṉāryā.[1] The first of these inscriptions mentions that the lands which once belonged to the Rājaśimhēśvarā shrine,[2] had been sold away by the temple authorities to the Anēkathaṅgāvatam temple.[3] In Saka 1286 Gōpaṉā ordered that the lands should be restored to the former temple, The next inscription dated in the same year records that with the approval of Gōpaṉāṅgaḷ, the temple authorities of the Rājaśimhēśvara shrine sold some house sites in the northern row of the Śaṉṉadhi street to some private individuals for 150 paṉams. The third inscription dated Saka 1291 mentions that with the approval of Gōpaṉāṅgaḷ, the trustees of the temple gave a monastery near the temple and some lands to one Gaṅgarāyar of Tirumudukuṉṟam (Viruddāchalam). That Śāḷuva Maṅgu was a subordinate of Gōpaṉā is mentioned in an inscription from Daḷavaṉūr (S. A. Dt.) dated 7th March 1363. Śaḷuva Maṅgu was the Ōlai (communicating officer) of the village and he informed the Ūravar (members of the assembly) that 16 mās of land was given as Dēvadāṉa to the temple with the approval and concurrence of Gōpaṉāryā, According to the record the correct name of the village was Talaivinallūr.[4]

Later on, Gōpanāryā was appointed Governor of Śeñji by Kumāra Kampaṇā. As the governor of Śeñji, Gōpaṇā

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1. S. I. I. Vol. I. Nos. 86, 87 and 88.
2. This temple was built by Rājaśimha Pallava or Naraśimhavarmaṉ II (c. A. D. 680–700) and is now known as the Kailāśanatha temple.
3. Name of the Śivā temple at Kāñchi near the Kailāśanātha temple sung both by Śambandar and Sundarar. It was converted into a stone temple during the time of Kulōttuṅga I (1070–1120). The Padigams (Dēvārams) relating to this shrine are considered to be of very high quality in Tamil̠ religious literature.
4. No. 52 of 1905.

was responsible for the restoration of the idol of Raṅganātha in the famous temple at Sriraṅgam and for the re-consecration of the Tillai-Govindarāja shrine at Chidambaram.[5] These two meritorious services of Gōpaṇā stand to his credit even to this day in the history of Vaishṇavism.

In A. D. 1371, after the conquest of Madura from the Sulṭān by Kumāra Kampaṇā, it was Gōpaṇa who re-instated the Sri Raṅganātha idol at Sriraṅgam. What led to the restoration of Sri Raṅganātha by Gōpaṇa and Vēdāntadēśika? We know from the Kōyiloḻuhu, and the Guruparambarai, two Vaiṣhṇavite works about Sriraṅgam, that the temple was attacked and plundered by the Muslims twice. The first invasion and plunder happened during the expedition of Mālik Kafur and the second during the time of Muhammad Tughlak. Here we are concerned with the second invasion. The 'Guruparambarai' or the succession list of Pontiffs of Sriraṅgam gives a detailed account of the second invasion. This account is supplemented by another work called Prapaṇṇāmirtam which deals with the lives of Piḷḷai Lōkāchārya and VēdāntaDēśika.[5(a)] Some information is supplied by the Telugu work Ācharyasūktimuktāvaḷi.[5(b)] Dr. S. K. Iyengar assigns the date A. D. 1327–8 to the second invasion of Srirangam during the reign of Muhammad-bin-Tughlak.[5(c)]

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[5] The Tillai-Govindarājasvami temple at Chidambaram has a chequered history. The shrine is within the precincts of the Natarāja temple. According to the Vaishṇavite work Prapaṉṉamirtam the Govindarāja idol was removed from the temple by the Chōḻa king "Kirimikaṇta". The Kulōttuṅgachōḻaṉ Ulā and Rājarājan Ulā mention the incident as follows:

1) தில்லைத் திருமன்றில் முன்றில் சிறுதெய்வம்
தொல்லைக் குறும்பு தொலைத்தெடுத்து

Kulōttuṅgaṉ Ulā. ll. 77–78.

2) பொன்னிற் குயிற்றிப் புறம்பிற் குறும்பனைத்து
முன்னர்க்கடலின் மூழ்குவித்த சென்னி

Rājarājaṉ Ulā. ll. 65–66.

The Takkayāgapparaṇi also mentions this incident as follows:

3) முன்றில் கிடந்த கருங்கடல் போய்
முன்னைக் கடல்புக பின்னைத்தில்லை
மன்றிற் கிடங்கண்ட கொண்டல் மைந்தன்
மரகதமேருவை வாழ்த்தினவே

According to T. V. S. Paṇḍārattār, it was Kulōttuṅga II who removed the Govindarāja idol from the temple not because he was a fanatical Śaivite but he wanted to carry out certain improvements in the Natarāja temple. When this was objected to by the Vaishṇavite priests he had to do it by force (See T. V, S. Paṇḍārattār. History of the later Choḻas. Vol. II. pp. 94–96).

Dr. T. V. Mahalingam believes that the discarded Govindarāja idol at Chidambaram was carried to Tirupati by the priests and consecrated in a new temple. According to the Guruparambarai, Vēdāntadēśika repaired and consecrated the Govindarāja shrine at Chidambaram with the help of Gōpaṇa through there was great opposition from the Śaivite priests. (See Dr. T. V. Mahalingam) - (Ad. and Soc. life. p. 325. Foot Note).

When the annual festival in which the idols of the Sriraṅgam temple used to be taken to the bank of the river Coleroon, was being celebrated, the Srivaiṣhṇavas heard that a Muslim army was marching towards the bank where the festival was being held. They were marching from Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam via., Śamayavaram village, a few miles north of the river Coleroon. Therefore, the Srivaiṣhṇavas completed the festival hastily, the idols were placed in a palanquin and were carried off southwards to save them from the invaders. The leader of the escaping party was Piḷḷai Lōkāchārya.[5(d)] They avoided the public roads and proceeded stealthily along jungle paths and unfrequented routes through the Pudukkōṭṭai State area. Then, they fled to Tirukkōṭṭiyūr (Rāmnāḍ Dt.) and then to Jyōtiṣhkuḍi where they stayed for a few months avoiding the terrible search of the Muslim army. Meanwhile, the Muslim army

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[5(a)] S. K. Iyengar. S. I. and Her M. I. pp, 111–116.

[5(b)] Sources. p. 40.

[5(c)] S. K. Iyengar. Op. cit.

[5(d)] V. Rangacharya. Life and Times of VēdāntaDēsika. J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. 25. p. 305.

which arrived at Sriraṅgam wrought terrible havoc on the temple and the people and plundered them completely. When this news reached the ears of Piḷḷai Lōkāchārya he was much struck with grief and breathed his last. His followers led by Vēdāntadēśika, now fled to Aḷagārmalai (Śundarāchalam) where they stayed for about a year. Finding themselves insecure even there, the fugitives marched further to Eṭṭiyāpuram, Āḷvar Tirunagari and then into Tranvancore region and going from one Vaiṣhṇava temple to another on the west coast they reached Calicut. From there, they entered the territory of Mysore and sought refuge at Tirunārayaṇapuram. (Melkote).[6] When the Srivaiṣhnavas felt the roads to be safe for travel, they carried the idols secretly to Tirupati where they were secretly worshipped in the Venkaṭēśvara temple for a generation. These lamentable vicissitudes of the idol of Raṅganātha were made known to Gōpanārya. "Once God Raṅganatha is said to have appeared in his dream and exhorted him to lead an invasion against the Muslims and to establish Him once more in the temple.[7] We need not believe the story of the dream because Gōpaṇā was a pious Vaiṣhṇava and he might have regarded it as his supreme duty to restore worship at Sriraṅgam. Gōpaṇā marched from Śeñji to Tirupati and removed the idols from there to Śiṅgāvaram where they were kept in the beautiful rockcut shrine.[8]

Meanwhile, the Muslim chief who was at Sriraṅgam as a subordinate of the Sulṭān of Madura had removed his headquarters to Śamayavaram for reasons of health. He had demolished the outer shrines of the Sriraṅgam temple and had erected a palace at Śamayavaram out of those materials.

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[6] See in this connection.
  a) Sources. pp. 34–36.
  b) S. K. Iyengar. Op. cit.
  c) V. Rangacharya. Op. cit.

[7] Sources. p. 35.

[8] Ibid.

Through the unselfish services of a dancing-girl, the Muslim chieftain was prevented from destroying the temple completely. Through her influence, a brahmin named Śiṅgappirāṉ secured a post in the service of the Muslim chief and was serving him with apparent loyalty. As soon as Kampaṅā's rule was stabilised in the Tamiḻ country, Śiṅgappirāṉ was said to have secretly invited Gōpaṉārya to march against Śamayavaram. In A. D. 1371 Gōpaṉā defeated the Muslim chief who had degenerated by drink and debauchery and reinstated the idol of Raṅganātha.[8(a)] This memorable event in the history of the Tamiḻ country is corroborated by epigraphical evidence also. The Raṅganātha inscription of Gōpaṉā in the Sriraṅgam Temple dated A. D. 1371 mentions the event as follows. "Having brought the God from Añjaṉādri (Tirupāti) the splendour of whose darkish peaks gives light to the world, having worshipped Him at Śeñji for some time, having slain the Turuṣhkas whose bows were raised, Gōpaṉāryā, the mirror of fame, placing Raṅganātha with Lakshmi and the Goddess of Earth, daily performed excellent worship like the Lotus-born Brahma."[9] Gōpaṉāryā had a son called Iyyaṉaṅgaḷ who is mentioned in an inscription from the Aruḷāḷaperumāḷ temple at Kāñchipuram dated 11th February 1367. The inscription records the sale deed of a house-site by a dancing-girl of the temple to *Iyyāṉāṅgal*, the son of Gopanāṅgaḷ.[10] We are very much indebted to the epigraphical records of the period for giving us such a wealth of information about Gōpaṉārya. Therefore, the view of Mr. S. Tiruvenkatachari that our entire knowledge of Gōpaṉa is obtained only from literary sources such as the Kōyiloḷugu and the Prapaṉṉāmirtam is rather surprising. His assertion that the only fact that can be said about Gōpaṉa is his restoration of the idol of Raṅganātha at Sriraṅgam needs revision.[11]

[8(a)] Dr. T. V. Mahalingam. Op. cit. p. 303.

[9] E. I. Vol. 6. No. 33. p. 330.

[10] S. I. I. Vol. IV. No. 356.

[11] Madhurāvijayam. Introduction. pp. 57 and 59.

Sāḷuva Maṅgu:

Another officer and Co-adjutant of Kumāra Kampaṇa in his activities in the Tamiḻ country wās Śāḷuva Maṅgu. From Jaimini Bhāratamu which is a work dedicated to Śāḷuva Narasimha by Pillālamāṟṟi Pīnavīrabhadra we get the information about the ancestors of Śāḷuva Narasimha of whom the most important was Śāḷuva Maṅgu. The Rāmabhyūdayam of *S*āḷuva Narāsimha mentions one Guṇḍa, the chieftain of Kalyāṇapura. One of his six sons was Maṅgu and he was a friend of Kumāra Kampaṇa.[12] To begin with, Maṅgu was only a sūbordinate officer, Ōlaināyakham (communicating Officer) of Kampaṇā in the Tamiḻ country. Later on, he seems to have been promoted as one of the generals. He helped Kampaṇa in his wars against the *S*ambuvarāya and the Sulṭān of Madura. The Śāḷuvabhyudayam and the Rāmabhyūdayam confirm the services of Maṅgu to Kumāra Kampaṇa. In the Jaimini Bharatamu, Maṅgu is said to have established the Śambuvarāya on his throne.[13] Two inscriptions in the Tamiḻ country mention that Maṅgidēva Mahārāja had the title of Śambuvarāyasthapaṇāchārya. One of them from Villiyaṉūr (Pondicherry) dated A. D. 1370 records a tax free gift of 12 mās of land to the local temple[14] Mr. Tiruvenkatachari thinks that Maṅgu was a military officer under Śavaṇa Uḍaiyār, the son of Kampaṇā I and it was then that he defeated the Śambuvarāya ruler and then restored him to his position.[15] But there are no evidences to prove that Maṅgu was in the service of Śavaṇa Uḍaiyār. Śaḷuva Maṅgu seems to have served only Kumāra Kampaṇā and it was only in the battle between him and Rājānārāyaṇa that he should have taken part. We know also that Rājanārayaṇa Śambuvarāya was restored to his position as a subordinate ruler for some time. This might have happened through the influence and advice of Maṅgu. So, he assumed the title of Śambuvarāyasthāpaṇāchārya. The Daḷavaṉūr record mentions him as the Ōlaināyakham.[16]

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[12] Sources. pp. 30 and 32.

[13] Ibid.

[14] 191 of 1936.

[15] Madhurāvijayam. Introduction. p. 60.

About the other services rendered by Maṅgu we know that he played a prominent part in Kampaṇā's invasion against the Sulṭān of Madura in A. D. 1371. The title 'Śāḷuva' seems to have been bestowed on him by Kumāra Kampaṇā for his admirable bravery which he exhibited while attacking the Sulṭān of Madura. This title 'Śāḷuva' or "the hawk" raised Maṅgu's name, head and shoulders above the other officers of Kumāra Kampaṇā. Śāḷuva Maṅgu also seems to have taken part in the efforts made by Gōpaṇāryā in restoring the idol of Raṅganātha at Sriraṅgam. The Jaimini Bhāratamu mentions that he re-established God Raṅganātha at Sriraṅgam and made a present of 60,000 māḍās (half sovereigns) of gold to the temple.[17] The Śāḷuvabhyūdayam records that he gave 1000 Śāḷagramas and also presented eight villages representing the eight syllables of the Aṣhtākshara.[18] According to the Rāmabhyūdayam Śāḷuva Maṅgu fought with the Sulṭān of Madura and killed him in battle,[19] while the honour of sending the Sulṭān to the other world is given to Kumāra Kampaṇā by Gaṅgādēvi. At any rate, the essential services of of Śāḷuva Maṅgu in Kampaṇā's wars with the Śambuvarāya and the Sulṭān of Madura are evident from these sources. The credit of erecting a pillar of victory on the banks of the river Tāmbraparaṇi ascribed to Śāḷuva Maṅgu by the Rāmabhyūdayam seems to be an extravagant one.[20]

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[16] No. 52 of 1905.

[17] Sources. p. 29.

[18] Ibid. p. 30.

[19] Ibid. p. 32.

Other officers of Kumāra Kampaṇā:

Besides the above mentioned officers, Adaippam Lakkappar and Nāgappar, Kaṅgāṇi Virasiṅgadēva and Yekkadēvarāsa and Svāmi-durōgakaṇḍaṉ Kaṭṭappa Nāyaka are referred to in the inscriptions of this period. Of these officers Aḍaippam was the betel bearer who always stood by the side of the King or the Viceroy. In course of time, this Aḍaippam became a very influential officer in the court of Vijayanagar. We know from Nuniz that the page who served Kṛishṇadēvarāya with betel had 15000 foot and 200 horse soldiers; Barradas informs us that the great Nāyak of Madura was a page of the betel to the king of Bisnāga.[21] Two Aḍaippam officers of Kumāra Kampaṇā were Lakkappar and Nāgappar. An inscription from Tiruppaṉaṅgāḍu (N. A. Dt.) dated 12th August 1370, mentions that Aḍaippam Lakkappar appointed three persons as lamp servants to the temple in that place.[22] From another inscription we know about Aḍaippam Nāgappar.[23]

The term Kaṅgāṇi refers to a supervisor of any kind of work. A record from Tiruppaṉaṅgādu mentions that Kumāra Kampaṇā appointed one Jayasiṅgādēva as the Kaṅgāṇi of the temple and also of his palace.[24] It is not clear whether the officer called Svāmi Durōghakkaṇḍaṉ was a government servant or an honorary title. The term 'Svāmi' in those days referred to both the kings and the viceroys. Perhaps, this officer was entrusted with the duty of finding out and punishing those who committed treason. No. 155 of 1930 mentions one Kaṭṭappa Nāyaka who had the prefix of Svāmiduroghakkaṇḍaṉ.

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[20] Ibid.

[21] Dr. T. V. Mahalingam. Op. cit., p. 274.

[22] No. 249 of 1906.

[23] No. 251 of 1921.

[24] No. 250 of 1906.

How long did Kumāra Kampaṇā rule over the Tamiḻ Country?

The exact period of Kampaṇā's rule in the Tamiḻ country and his relations with his father Bukka I deserve a special discussion. Mr. Tiruvenkatachari is of opinion that Kumāra Kampaṇā was the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara in the Tamiḻ country from A. D. 1341 to A. D. 1375.[25] But, this seems to be a very long period. The earliest of Kampaṇa's inscriptions in the Tamiḻ country is dated 24th August 1352[26] It records the gift of a village called Śōmanāthapura Chaturvēdimaṅgalam on the northern bank of the Peṇṇār by Śōmappa Uḍaiyar. Most probably, Kampaṇā was the Mahamaṇḍalēsvara of Mulbagal province from that date. Therefore, his rule in the Tamiḻ country must be said to have begun only after that date. We know also that Kampanā conquered the Śambuvarāya territory in A. D. 1362 and that of the Sulṭānate of Madura in 1371. On any account Kampaṇā's rule cannot be dāted earlier thān A. D. 1352. Kampaṇā seems to have lived only for three years after his conquest of Madura. Therefore, his rule in the Tamiḻ country must be dated between A. D. 1352 and 1374.

Then what is the last year of Kampaṇā's rule? It is acceded by āll scholars during this period that Kumāra Kampaṇā pre-deceased his father, Bukka I. Of the 132 inscriptions of Kampaṇā's period, which are so far available in the Tamiḻ country; only one is dated after A. D. 1374 and all the others are dated before 1374. Fourteen of the above 132 inscriptions were inscribed in Saka 1296 (Ān̤anda) i. e. A. D. 1374 and they may be arranged according to their dates as follows:

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[25] P. I. H. C. 1945.

[26] No. 297 of 1919.

No. of Inscriptions:	*Place*	*Śaka and cyclic year*	*A. D. date*
1) 282 of 1903	Tirupparaitturai	1296 Ananda	19th March 1374
2) 267 of 1912	Nattam	-do-	4th April 1374
3) 390 of 1923	Tiruppulivan̤am	-do-	29th June 1374
4) 28 of 1890	Kāñchi	-do-	7th July 1374
5) 390 of 1905	Kāvērippākkam	-do-	12th July 1374
6) 662 of 1919	Kāñchi	-do-	-do-
7) 324 of 1911	Māḍāmpākkam	-do-	24th July 1374
8) 284 of 1919	-do-	-do-	Nil. July 1374
9) 351 of S.I.I. Vol. 4.	Kāñchi	-do-	28th July 1374
10) 185 of 1894	Tirukkal̤ūkkun̤r̤am	-do-	1st Sept. 1374
11) 170 of 1932	-do-	-do-	6th Sept. 1374
12) 114 of 1930	Tiruppullāṇi	-do-	2nd Oct. 1374
13) 573 of 1902	Tiruvan̤n̤āmalai	-do-	17th Dec. 1374
14) 135 of 1924	Koduṅgaḷūr	-do-	Nil. -do-

Of these inscriptions one is dated in March, one in April, one in June, six in July, two in September and October of A. D. 1374. None of these inscriptions is dated after October. The most important of these lithic records which enables us to fix the last date of Kumāra Kampaṇā comes from Tiruvaṇṇāmalai.[27] This inscription definitely mentions that Jammaṇa Uḍaiyār, the son of Kumāra Kampaṇā made a gift of land for reciting the Vēdās during the Rājavibāṭan Śandhi in the temple at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai for the pacification of the soul of Kumāra Kampaṇā, in Saka 1296, Āṇanda Mārgaḷi, which corresponds to the Christian date of 17th December 1374. We have an inscription of Kumāra Kampaṇa from Tiruppallāṇi in Rāmnāḍ district dated 2nd October 1374.[28] Therefore, Kampaṇā's death must have happened between these two dates: 2—10—1374 and 17—12—1374 (i. e.) in November 1374.

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[27] No. 573 of 1902.

[28] S. I. I. Vol. 8. No. 400.

No. 573 of 1902

ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீமன் மகாமண்டலீசுரன் அரிராயவிபாடன் பாஷைக்குத் தப்புவராய கண்டன் வீரபொக்கண உடையார் குமாரன், கம்பண உடையார் குமாரன் ஜம்மண உடையார் பிருதிவிராஜ்யம பண்ணியருளாநின்ற சகாப்தம் 1296ன் மேல் செல்லாநின்ற ஆனந்த-ஸு தனுர் ஞாயிற்று பூர்வபட்சத்து திரயோதசியும் ஞாயிற்றுக்கிழமையும் பெற்ற ரோகணி நாள் உடையார் திருவண்ணாமலையுடைய நாயனார்க்கு இராஜவிபாடன் சந்தியிலே கம்பண உடையார்க்கு சிராத்தபூர்வமாக அத்தியயனம் பண்ணச் சர்வமானிய இறையிலியாகவிட்ட ஆடையூர் நாடு கீழ்ப்பற்று அகாம் அதிகையான கம்பராயச் சதுர்வேதி மங்கலம். நஞ்சை, புஞ்சை நாற்பாற் கெல்லைக்குட்பட்ட நிலத்திற்கு முன்பிலாண்டுகொள்ளும் ரட்சாபந்தனம் உள்ளிட்ட பல உபாதிகளும் கழித்து நாள் ஒன்றுக்கு ஒரு பேர் சந்திராதித்த வரையில் அத்தியயனம் பண்ணுவதாக கல்வெட்டிக் கொடுத்தோம். இது பன்மகேஸ்வர ரக்ஷை.

No. 400 of S. I. I. Vol. 8.

1) சகாப்தம் 1296ன்மேல் ஸ்ரீமன் மகாமண்டலீசுரன் அரிராயவிபாடன் பாஷைக்குத் தப்புவராயகண்டன் ஸ்ரீவீர கம்பண உடையார்க்குச் செல்லாநின்ற ஆனந்த-ஸு ஐப்பசி-மீ 4-உ.

As regards the relations between Kumāra Kampaṇā and his father Bukka 1 there is difference of opinion among scholars. Mr. Krishna Sastri believed that after the conquest of the Tamiḻ country, Kumāra Kampaṇā ruled as an independent sovereign.[29] But, we know from the Madhurāvijayam that it was Bukka-I who ordered Kumara Kampaṇā to march against the Śambuvarāya and the Sulṭān of Madura and to conquer their territories. After conquering those territories, Kampaṇā only ruled the country as the 'Mahāmaṇḍalēṣvara' and not as an independent ruler. All his inscriptions mention him as the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, the son of Bukkaṇa Uḍaiyār, the Lord of the four oceans. Therefore, there is no truth in the statement that Kampaṇā set up an independent rule in the Tamiḻ country.

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2) நாடாகத் திருப்புல்லாணியிலே குவிந்து காங்கேயன் திருமண்டபத்திலிருந்து நாயனார் தெய்வச்சிலை பெருமானுக்கு திருப்பணிக்கும், நாட்டார் கற்பித்த உச்சி சந்திக்கும் அமுது படிக்கும்

3) படி வெஞ்சனத்திற்கும் சாத்துப்படிக்கும் திருமாலைக்கும், நாட்டில் வைத்துக்கொடுத்த பிராமணர் பேர் ஒன்றுக்கு பணம் ஒன்றும், வெள்ளாளர் பேர் ஒன்றுக்கு பணம் ஒன்றும்

4) நாட்டில் இருக்கும் செட்டியார் பேர் ஒன்றுக்கு பணம் ஒன்றும், தவசிகள் கைக்கோளர் மற்றுள்ளிட்ட சாதிக்கு பேர் ஒன்றுக்கு பணம் ஒன்றும், வெள்ளான் பிள்ளைகள், இடையர்....

5) கண்ணாளர் இவர்களுள்ளிட்ட சாதிக்கு பணம் அரையும், சான்றாருள்ளிட்ட சாதிக்குப் பணம் அரையுமாக பனி ரெண்டு வயதிற்கு மேற்பட்டார் யாவர்க்கும் ஆண்டுதோறும் இராசகரத்திற்கு வழங்கும் பணம்

6) ஆக திருவேளைக்காரரைக்கொண்டு தண்டுவித்துக் கொள்வார்களாகவும், இம்முதல் மறித்துக்கொடுத்தும், தண்டித்தும் தண்டிக்கொள்வார்களாகவும். இப்படிக்கு சந்திராதித்த வரைச் செல்ல கல்லுவெட்டி கொடுத்தமைக்கு.

[29] A. S. R. 1907–8.

As long as Rājanārāyaṇa Śambuvarāya was alive, he was allowed by Kampaṇā to rule over Rājagambīrarājyam as his subordinate. After the death of Rājanārāyaṇa none of his descendants seems to have been recognised by the Vijayanagar rulers as his successor and thus they put an end to the so-called double government between the Śambuvarāya and the Mahāmaṇḍalēsvara in the Rājagambīrarājyam. Kāñchi became the secondary capital of the Mulbāgal viceroyalty. Kampaṇā combined in himself all the admirable qualities that went to make up an ideal Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara and it was no wonder that he was able to establish the Vijayanagar rule in the Tamiḻ country with the willing consent of the people. The people of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam willingly acknowledged him as their ruler and the absence of disturbances shows that the people did not regret the expansion of Vijayanagar rule in the Tamiḻ country. "When Kampaṇa was ruling at Kāñchi, his subjects thought that he was an incarnation of Viṣhnu who had come down to the earth. Because he was so victorious and such a favourite of gods and virtuous men. His power had wide recognition and his activities were very fruitful. He followed the method of arbitration in deciding disputed issues. He was something original in his statesmanship which showed that he was a real master.[30]

Father Heras on the authority of the Oriental Historical MSS. of Mr. Taylor had come to the conclusion that Kumāra Kampaṇā restored the old Pāṇḍya rulers at Madura. "He made enquiries concerning the Pāṇḍya royal family and their respective rights. The result of these enquiries was the coronation of Sōmaśēkhara Pāṇḍya in Madura."[31] But we must know that the name Sōmaśēkhara Pāṇḍya is unknown

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30. Madhurāvijayam. Canto. V.
31. O. H. MSS. Vol. I. p. 205 and Father Heras. Op. cit., p. 106.

to inscriptions and the genealogical lists of the Pāṇḍyas. The Pāṇḍya princes had retired from Madura about A.D.1335 when the Sulṭānate was founded by Jalal-ud-din Aḥsan Shāh. From that time their inscriptions are available mostly in the extreme south in the Tinnevelly region. Prof. K. A. N. Sastri confirms this view when he says, "The Pāṇḍya rulers gained no material advantage from Kampaṇā's conquest of Madura."[32]

It may be pointed out that even before the conquest of Madura by Kumāra Kampaṇā, the Pāṇḍya rule had disappeared from that place. It was not the beginning of the end of the Pāṇḍya power since there were no Pāṇḍyas at all in Madura about A. D. 1371. Therefore, the restoration of the Pāṇḍya rule in Madura by Kumāra Kampaṇā is a myth. According to the Maduraittalavaralāṟu 'from the year Virōdhikirutu to Chitrabhāṇu (1371-1402) Kampaṇā, his son Empaṇa (Jommaṇa) and his nephew Prakāśa Uḍaiyār ruled over Madura for a period of 33 years. During their rule they made many a provision for all the Śivā and Vishṇu temples for jewels and daily worship.'[33] An inscription from Tirukkāḷakkuḍi describes the actual state of affairs after the conquest of Madura by Kumāra Kampaṇā. 'Kampaṇa Uḍaiyār came on his southern expedition, destroyed the Tulukkans, established orderly government throughout the country. He appointed many Naykkaṉmārs for inspection and supervision so that worship in all temples might be revived as of old.'[34] So, Kampaṇā did not restore the Pāṇḍyan rule in the region of Madura since his son Jammaṇa and his nephew Prakāśa Uḍaiyār are mentioned as governors of Madura from A. D. 1371. Nor are there evidences to prove that Kampaṇā was assisted by the Bāṇa chieftains against the Sulṭāns of Madura though it might have happened as Prof. K. A. N. Sastri believes.[35] Because, it was later on, during the time of Lakkaṇa Uḍaiyār that the Bāṇa chieftains came into close contact with the Vijayanagar governors in the region around Madura.

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[32] The Pāṇḍya kingdom. p. 374.

[33] R. Sathinathaier, The Nāyaks of Madura. p. 374.

[34] No. 64 of 1916.

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[35] K. A. N. Sastri. Op. cit., p. 246.

CHAPTER — VI

LOCAL INSTITUTIONS IN THE 14TH AND 15TH CENTURIES

The Vijayanagar rule in the Tamiḻ country from the later half of the 14th century witnessed the centralisation of royal authority. During the reigns of Bukka I, Harihara II, Bukka II, Dēvarāya I, and Dēvarāya II, their rule in the Tamiḻ country was consolidated and there were no serious rebellions in any part of the country. From A. D. 1377 to 1400 Viruppaṇṇa Uḍaiyār was the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara of the Tamiḻ country. Two important copper plates, the Ālampūṇḍi and the Śoraikkāvūr plates mention his rule. Accordtng to the Ālampūṇḍi plates Virupaṇṇa is said to have made extensive conquests in the south by defeating the rulers of the Tunḍira, Chōḻa, Pāṇḍya and Simhaḷas and presented the booty to his father (Harihara II).[1] Are we to infer from this that the Tamiḻ country was reconquered by Virupaṇṇa Uḍaiyār? If it was a reconquest, what led to it? We know for certain that the Śambuvarāyas of Paḍaivīḍu and the Sulṭāns of Madura had already been conquered and there is no evidence to prove that Virupaṇṇa conquered the Teṉkāśi region. Therefore, the claims of Virupaṇṇa as mentioned in the Ālampūṇḍi plates seem to be only an empty boast.

The Śoraikkāvūr plates are dated two years later than the Ālampūṇḍi record and Virupaṇṇa made the grant as the provincial governor with the consent of his father.[2] This record calls Virupaṉṉa as the Lord of the Tundira, Chōḷa and the Pāṇḍya countries and gives more details than the former one. He boasts of having weighed himself against gold in the presence of God Rāmaṉātha at Rāmēśvaram. He is said to have made a gift of 1000 cows, gilded the vimāṉās of the temples at Sriraṉgam and Chidambaram and established the Brahmanical faith.[3]

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[1] E. I. Vol. III. p. 225.

[2] E. I. Vol. 8. p. 300.

Virupaṉṉa was succeeded by several other Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras during whose time the Vijayanagar rule in the Tamiḻ country was steadily consolidated. But the most important problem during this period (1350–1446) from the time of the conquest of the Tamiḻ country by Kumāra Kampaṇā to the close of the reign of Dēvarāya II was the gradual decline and disappearance of the local institutions of the Tamiḻ country such as the Śabhā, Ūr, and the Nāḍu. It was a period of centralisation of authority rather than the decentralisation of power which characterised the Chōḷa period in South Indian History. During the Chōḷa period the villages were the real centres of social and political life and the principal nursery of social and political virtues. Government by means of primary assemblies comprising the adult males of each village was the central feature of village organisation.[4]

Early History of Local Śelf-Government in the Tamiḻ Country :

Among the most important institutions of Local government in early South Indian History, three organisations may be mentioned as outstanding ones. They were the Śabhā, the Ūr and the Naḍu. They were rural organisations and performed several functions such as the ownership of communal lands, the collection of various taxes and the performance of several communal and agricultural duties. "These village communities were each an organism born out of the consciousness of the members of a kinship among them. Their growth was gradual and spontaneous and they seem to have adapted themselves to the changing conditions in the country."[5]

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[3] Ibid.

[4] Dr. T. V. Mahalingam. S. I. P. p. 332.

The Mahāśabhās or the Śabhās

During the Pallava and the Pāṇḍya periods the Mahāśabhās were in existence in the northern and southern parts of the Tamiḻ country respectively. They were found working in chaturvedimaṇgalams in which the owners of lands were mainly Brahmins. In the Pallava territory there were more than twenty Śabhās at work in the 8th and 9th centuries, most of them in the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam region, from the time of Dantivarman Pallava. Among the places where the Śabhās existed, the following may be mentioned: Uttiramērur, Tiruvippārambēdu, Kūram, Veṇkuṉṟam, Peruṇguḷi, Anbil, Perumbuliyūr, Maṇali, Avaṉinārāyaṇa-chāturvēdimaṅgalam, Śiyapuram, Muttai, Pulvanūr, Tengangudi, Tiruttani, Ādambākkam, Tiruvallam, Ukkal etc.[6] Almost simultaneously, the Śabhās seem to have developed in the Pāṇḍya country also, As inscription of Māṟañjaḍayan at Māṉūr in Tinnevelly district gives us an insight into the working of the Śabhā in that Brahmadēya village. The details which are found in the inscription regarding the constitution of the Śabhā show that the members were exclusively the sharehorders of lands in the village. The term used in the record to denote the members of the Śabhā acting as a body is Śabhaiyōm. The same word is used in two other early inscriptions, one at Nallimaṅgalam and the other at Ilamperunkay-Irukkai.[8] The terms Śabhaiyār and the Mahāśabhaiyār were also used to denote the members of the Śabhā.[9] These Śabhās must be regarded as the precursors of the institutions which were perfected during the Chōḻa period.[10]

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[5] Ibid. p. 335.

[6] Dr. C. Minakshi. Ad. and Soc. Life under the Pallavas. p. 125. F. N.

[7] E. I. Vol. 22. pp. 9-11.

The Golden age of the Mahāśabhās:

The inscriptions which enable us to study the activities o the Mahāśābhas in the Tamiḻ country during the Chōḻa period may be called the Mahāśabhā records. Of the innumerable records belonging to this period nearly 646 inscriptions may be called the Mahāśabhā records and they are found distributed as follows in the Tamiḻ districts.

Districts.	No. of Inscriptions:
Chittoor	7
North Arcot	65
Chingleput	137
South Arcot and Pondicherry area	98
Tanjore	234
Trichinopoly	66
Salem	4
Madura and Tinnevelly	17
Mysore and Travancore	18
Total	646

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[8] Ibid. Vol. 20. pp. 52–53.

[9] Dr. T. V. Mahaiingam. Op. cit., p. 344.

[10] R. Sathinathaier. Studies. p, 27.

If we can distribute the inscriptions according to the Maṇḍalams they could be arranged as follows.

Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam	....	307
Chōl̤amaṇḍalam	....	300
Paṇḍyamaṇḍalam	....	25
Koṅgumāṇḍalam	....	14
	Total	646[11]

Another important feature of the working of the Śabhās in the Tamil̤ country during the Chōl̤a period is that they were concentrated in certain areas in the above four maṇḍalams. In the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam we find their activity in more than 35 places. Here, we find a major concentration of Mahāśabhas around the city of Kāñchi from Uttiramērūr or Puḷḷalūr and from Kūr̤am to Paḷaiyasīvaram and Tirumukkūḍal and a minor concentration encircling Madras-Vēḷachēri to the south, Pāḍi and Tirumullaivāyil to the west and Tiruvor̤r̤iyūr to the north. In the North Arcot district the Mahāśabhās were found working in the Arakkōṇam and Cheyyār Taluks. In the Chingleput district, the Mahāśabhā area extended from Tiruttaṇi to Ukkal and from Takkōlam to Tirupār̤kaḍal.[12] In the South Arcot district the Mahāśabhā area extended from Eṇṇāyiram and Tribhuvaṇi to Uḍaiyārguḍi and Chidambaram. In Tanjore the Mahāśabhā āreа was the triangle with its apex at Nāgapaṭṭiṇam, the base being the river Coleroon particularly Mayūram, Nan̤n̤ilam, Kumbhakōṇam, Pāpaṇāśam and Tanjore Taluks. In the Trichinopoly district the Mahāśabhā area could be demarcated from Śrīnivāśanallur and Mahādāṇapuram to Uraiyūr and from Tirumalavāḍi to Tiruverumbūr. The Mahāśabhās seem to have flourished in fertile regions between two rivers and on the banks of jungle streams. In the Chōḻamaṇḍalam the Śabhās were active on the banks of the Kāvēri and the Coleroon, in the South Arcot district on the banks of the rivers, Southern Peṇṇār and Northern Veḷḷār; in the Chingleput and North Arcot districts on the banks of the Pālār and Cheyyār.[13]

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[11] Ibid pp. 27–28.

[12] Ibid. p. 30.

If we can divide the Chōḻa age into three approximate periods as regards the activities of the Mahāśabhās, their growth and decline could be clearly indicated as follows:

Period:		*No. of Mahāśabhā Inscriptions:*
I A. D. 907 to 1120	....	413
II A. D. 1120 to 1216	....	89
III A. D. 1216 to 1279	....	40

The Vāriyam System:

The Mahāśabhā represented the intelligentia of the Brahmadēya villages and they carried on the village administration very efficiently by constituting themselves into various committees called Vāriyams. There were several vāriyams known as Ērivāriyam, Tōṭṭavāriyam, Samvatśaravāriyam, Pañchavāravāriyam, Kaḻanivāriyam etc. The members of the Vāriyam were known as Vāriyar or Vāriyapperumakkaḷ. From inscriptional evidences we can maintain that the Vāriyam system became widely prevelent in all places where the Śabhā functioned.[14] Though the Vāriyam system and its working became popular and widely prevalent, its origin and growth are shrouded in mystery. The consensus of opinion about the origin of the term 'Variyam' is that it is derived from the

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[13] Ibid. pp. 30–31.

[14] Nos. 11, 65, 74, 83 and 84 of 1898. S. I. I. Vol. VI. p. 167.

Tamiḻised form of the Sanskrit word 'Vārya' meaning 'selected' or chosen. (Vr – Var—to choose or select), This interpretation is supported by an inscription of the 12th year of Kulōttunga III in which the expressions "Vāraṇam Śeydal" for the act of choosing and 'Vāraṇam' for the executive body of the Śabha are used.[15] It is obviously better to derive the word Vāriyam from the Sanskrit term Vārya than from the Tamiḻ term Vāri which means income.[16] The term Vāriyar would then mean a person or a body of persons employed in a specific kind of work.[17]

Another distinctive feature of the working of the Mahāśabha in its golden age was the introduction of the *Kuḍavolai* system. The Śēri, Kuḍumbu, Kuḍavōlai and Vāriyam must be regarded as unique features of the Peruṇguri Mahāśabhās in the Tamiḻ country. Their adoption made the Mahāśabhās fully representative of the Brahmins of the village, excluded persons of doubtful character from getting into the assembly and ensured purity, efficiency and honesty in discharging public duties. The Vyavāśtha or the laws regulating the constitution of the Śabhās as reflected in the two famous Uttiramērūr records of Parāntaka I dated A. D. 919 and 921 are the standing monuments of the working of the Mahāśabhās in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. The rules which were introduced in that peerless chatur-vēdimaṅgalam might have been applied to other Śabhās in various parts of the Tamiḻ country.[18]

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[15] Dr. T. V. Mahalingam. Op. cit., p. 346.

[16] R. Sathinathaier. Op. cit., p. 32.

[17] Regarding the origin of the term Vāriyam several views have been expressed. One of them is that the word Vāriyam comes from the Tamiḻ word *Vāram* which means a share. If this derivation is accepted. the term variyar wouid mean a share-holder and Vāriyam, a body or committee of Vāriyar. The sccond suggestion is that the word Vāriyam might have been derived from the Sanskrit word Vāra which means a collection or group. A third inference is that the term could be traced to rhe Tamiḻ word Vāri which means income (See S. I. P. p. 345). At the present day there is a distinct caste in Kēraḷa called the Vāriyars. The members of this caste are employed in temples to weave garlands.

The Vāriyam system which had grown gradually in the course of the previous one or two centuries reached its highest watermark during the Chōḻa-period. The Uttiramērūr inscription of A. D. 921 mentions five distinct vāriyams. The Ērivāriyam was in charge of tanks and other irrigation sources. The Tōṭṭavāriyam or the garden committee was in charge of gardens and other public places. The Śamvatsara vāriyam, membership in which required previous experience in the garden and tank committees, besides pre-eminence in age and learning, was the annual committee consisting of twelve members. From the term Pañchavāra referring to a kind of tax, it has been suggested that the Pañchvāravāriyam might have been a committee for the assessment and collection of that tax. Another interpretation of the term is that the Pañchavāra committee could also be called a famine committee which organised famine relief in times of drought and unemployment. The Poṉvāriyam was obviously engaged in examining the fineness and weight of gold that was invested with the Śabhā for specific purposes. All the vāriyams except the *Ś*amavatśara vāriyam consisted of six members.[19]

In addition to the above committees of the Śabhā according to the Uttiramērūr records, there were in existence many other committees suitable to the localities. An inscription from Tiruppāṟkadal (Chingleput Dt.) mentions three other committees subject to the control of the Sabhā of that place. They were the Kuḍumbu vāriyam (Wards committee) Kaḷaṉi vāriyam (fields committee) and Vaḍakaḷāṉi vāriyam (north-fields committee).[20] From Kāvērippākkam comes a record which mentions three other new committees. They were Kaṇakku variyam (accounts committee), Kaliṅgu vāriyam (sluice committee) and Tadiveli variyam.[21] According to Dr. S. K. Iyengar the Taḍivēḷi vāriyam managed the roads.[22] But, Dr. T. V. Mahalingam thinks that this committee supervised the fields.[23] Two other inscriptions of this period mention about the Udāsīṉa variyam. The term Udāsīṉa has been interpreted as ascetics. But it is appropriate to take it as referring to strangers or foreigners. The number of committees and of members varied from village to village and no remuneration was paid for their services. The committee members were called Vāriyapperumakkaḷ, the Mahāsbhā, or the Peruṅguri. Ordinarily, the assembly met in the village temple and occasionally under a tree or on the bank of a tank. There are no references in inscriptions either to voting or to a quorum. General questions were discussed, resolutions were passed and recorded.[25]

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[18] C. F. The two Uttiramērur Inscriptions of Parāntakā I.

[19] Dr. T. V. Mahalingam. Op. cit., p. 353.

The Ūr or the Ūravar:

A second local organisation that functioned along with the Sabhā was the Ūr. It seems to have been prevalent in

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20. S. I. I. Vol. III. No. 99
21. Ibid. No. 156.
22. Evolution of Hindu Administrative Institutions. p. 134.
23 S. I. P. p. 354
24. Nos. 38 of 1911 and 269 of 1912. M. E. R. 1913. paragraph 23.
25. R. Sathianathaier. Vol. I. p. 397.

non-brahmadēya villages in which the owners of land were not exclusively brahmins, though at the same time, instances are not wanting to show that in some places, it functioned along with the Sabhā by itself or jointly with it according to the nature of the work on hand.[26] The Ūr consisted of all persons who lived in a particular village including agriculturists and other professionals. In large chaturvedimaṅgalams where there were more than one religious groups, there seems to have existed two different Ūrs. The village of Śātta-maṉgalam had two Ūrs, one consisting of the people of the Hindu Dēvadāna part of the village and the other of the residents in the Jaiṉa Paḷḷichandam.[27]

According to an inscription there were two Ūrs in each of the two villages of Kumāramaṅgalam and Ammaṉkuḍi in the Pudukkōṭṭai division of the Trichinopoly district.[28] The meetings of the Ūr were attended by all the residents of the locality. The expression, Ūrāga isainda Ūrōm used in the inscriptions, could be taken to refer to the representative character of the Ūravar. But the executive duties of the Ūravar seem to have been performed by a smaller body known as the gaṇam, ālumgaṇam or miyāḷumgaṇam. According to inscriptional evidences the Taṇḍal (tax collector) and Nyayattār (judicial officers) were officers working under the Ūr.[29] The term Ālumgaṇattār seems to have been in vogue even during the Pallava period. An inscription of the period of Dantivarmaṉ Pallava mentions one Ayyāpōṟṟi, the headman of the village of Kaliyamaṅgalam and he was a member of the Ālumgānam of Tiruvipparambēḍu.[30] From another inscription we learn that onè Muḷḷūr Kiḻār was a member of the Ālumgaṇam of the same village.[31] The relationship which the members of the executive committee of the Ūr bore to the village assembly (Ūr) is not known. But, it must have been the same as that of the relations between the Vāriyams and the Mahāśabhās in the purely brahmin occupied chaturvedimaṅgalams.

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[26] S. I. P. p. 358.

[27] No. 466 of 1912.

[28] P. S. I. No. 198.

[29] 40 of 1895, 3 and 58 of 1898.

[30] E. I. Vol. XI. p. 225.

Thè Nāḍu:

Besides the Śabhā and the Ūr, there was another type of territorial assembly known as the Nāḍu which functioned in the territorial unit known by the same name. The fact that the people in the Nāḍu formed that assembly is indicated by the expressions, 'Nāḍāgaisainda Nāṭṭōm or Nāṭṭavarōm, Dr. T. V. Mahalingam is of opinion that all the residents in a Nāḍu could not have been its members.[32] Probably, the more influential among them were members of the Nāḍu. This view is proved by the fact that only a section of the people of the Nāḍu have attested their signatures in the inscriptions which mention the decisions or resolutions of the Nāḍu assemblies.

Powers and Functions of Local Institutions:

The usefulness of any institution could be understood from the powers which it possessed and the services which it rendered to the public. Viewed in that aspect, the above rural institutions in the Tamiḻ country between the 9th and 16th centuries might be said to have rendered innumerable services to the people. "Their duties were of a varied nature such as control and regulation of land holdings, management of irrigation works and temples, collection and remission of taxes and supervision of charities." They were also rural banks which received deposits of money and lent it to the people at decent rates of interest.[33] Further, the village assemblies possessed the right of acquiring and disposing of lands or other kinds of property in the name and on behalf of the village. This was prevalent in Gāṇabhōgam[34] villages. Under the ēkabhōgam system, lands were held by one person and he had an absolute and unlimited right over the soil and it could be compared to the modern ryotwari system of land-holding. But, in the Gaṇabhōgam tenure, lands were jointly held by the people. It was under this Gaṇabhōgam tenure that the assemblies had the right to acquire and dispose of lands.[35]

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[31] Ibid. p. 223.

[32] S. I. P. p. 359.

The next important function of the local institutions was the collection of taxes. The imperial or provincial revenues were, at times, entrusted to be collected by the Śabhās or the Ūravar. Thirdly, they had certain inherent rights for levying fresh taxes and remitting old ones. Thus, the assembly at Tiruvaratturai (S. A. Dt.) made a gift of taxes on land to the temple. The assembly at Śiruvayal decided to exclude the Sarvamāṇya lands of a temple from taxation. On a few occasions the Ūravar also acted as leaseholders of the crown lands belonging to the Central Government.[36] They had also certain judicial powers and tried certain cases and inflicted fines and punishments on the offenders. The members of the assembly of Kuḷattūr, Ālampaḷḷam and Śadaiyaṇpattu decided a case of dispute between two priests in the Śiva temple at

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[33] Ibid. p. 360

[34] Joint ownership.

[35] Ad. and Soc. Life. pp. 308–10.

[36] Ibid. p. 213.

Aragalūr in Salem district.[37] The village assembly of Tirupperundurai confiscated the lands of one Āṇḍāṉ Pillai on account of a crime committed by him.[38]

The village assemblies exercised some control over the temples within their jurisdiction and they enjoyed the privilege of conferring honours on individuals for meritorious services rendered by them. The assembly at Āṇaimēlagaram confirmed the right of the temple at Mūvalūr over the lands which had been taken away by private persons.[39] The Ūravar of the villages of Kuḍalūr and Kuḷamaṅgalam conferred the title of Kalaṅgāda–Kaṇḍan with certain temple honours on a cowherd Poṉṉaṉ for supplying kids to the temple during a festival day.[40] The village assemblies also acted as guardians of public endowments and charities and administered trust properties. An inscription from Paḷḷikoṇḍā in North Arcot district mentions that the assembly of the village made an agreement with a merchant who endowed 2000 kuḻis of land in the village of Vaipūr for feeding daily a specified number of persons who were well versed in the Vēdās.[41] The village assemblies served as the agents of the Central Government for the execution of royal orders and they were even required, at times to supply watchman, priests, accountants and treasurers to the temples.

Local Institutions during the Vijayanagar period:

It is from the inscriptions that we have to study the conditions of local institutions such as the Śabhā, the Ūr and the Nāḍu in the post-Chōḷa and Vijayanagar periods. By a statistical study of the inscriptions of this period we can arrive at the conclusion that these institutions gradually declined and disappeared in the course of the 14th and 15th centuries. Out of the 616 inscriptions of the Śambuvarāya and Vijayanagar rulers recorded during those centuries in the Tamiḻ country, only 45 mention about the Śabhā, the Ūr or the Nāḍu. Of these 45 records, 15 refer to the Śabhās, 14 to the Ūr and 16 to the Nāḍu. This is a clear proof of the view that during the Vijayanagar period the local institutions continued to decline during the 14th and 15th centuries and disappeared completely during the 16th century.

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[37] No. 430 of 1913.

[38] 509 of 1925.

[39] 21 of 1925

[40] P. S. I. 692.

[41] 470 of 1925.

(a) *The Śabhās during the Vijayanagar period:*

During the reign of Rājanārāyaṇa Śambuvarāya (1336-63) we have 89 inscriptions mentioning his rule. Of these records only five mention about the Śabhā, three about the Ūr and none about the Nāḍu. The Śabhās seem to have existed in three places in the present North Arcot district. An inscription from Kaṅgayanallur dated 10th May 1354, registers a sale of land for 170 Vīrachampaṉ Kuḻigai by one Tiruvēṅkaṭamuḍaiyāṉ to the Śabhā of Kāṅgayanallūr alias Mallināthachaturvēdimaṅgalam.[1] Since Mallinātha was one of the surnames assūmed by Rājanārāyaṇa, it is probable that he founded a brahmin colony at the village and called it by the above name. But, we are not certain whether it was a new Śabhā that was organised during the time of Rājanārāyaṇa or he allowed to continue to function one of the old Śabhās which existed during the Chōḻa period. There was another Śabhā working in the village of Ukkal (Cheyyar Taluk, N. A. Dt.). According to a record dated 30th March 1362, the Sabhā at Ukkal sold the village of Piḍāritāṅgal to two persons for a sum of 200 Vīrachampaṉ Kuḷigai. The amount was used to repair the irrigation tank and its sluice which had been in disrepair for a very long period.[2] Two other records of Rājanārāyaṇa dated A. D. 1342 mention about the Vāriyars or the Committee members and the Karaṇattāṉ (accountant) of the Sabhā. The inscriptions register an order of Rājanārāyaṇa and his officer Toṇḍama Nāyaka making Ośur (Wandiwash Taluk) and Śirukaḷattūr tax free agrahārās, dividing them into 88 shares and distributing 86 shares to the Brahmins of the village and two shares to the temple.[3] It is reasonable to conclude that there was a Śabhā working at Ośur and it had its Committees or Vāriyams. The mention of the name Karaṇattāṉ is significant since he was a Śabhā officer from very early times.[4] Another inscription from Kāñchipuram dated 1st June 1354 mentions that one Tiruvēṅkaṭa Mudaliyar gave a piece of land and house site as variyavirutti to a Brahmin.[5] But it is not known whether there was a Śabhā or not at Kāñchi during the time of Rājanārāyaṇa.

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[1] No. 202 of 1921.

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2. No. 162 of 1940.
3. Nos. 71 and 72 of 1934.
4. Karaṇattāṉ is mentioned in the Periyapurāṇam of Śēkkilār when he describes the dispute between Śundaramurthi Nāyanār and Lord Śiva which was decided by the Śabhā of Tiruveṇṇainallūr. It was the Karaṇattāṉ who read out to the members of the Śabhā, the palm-leaf document executed by the great-grandfather of Sundarar dedicating himself and his descendants as the hereditary servants of one Pittaṉ, Lord of Tiruveṇṇainallūr.(Periyapurāṇam, Taduttātkondapuraṇam, Stanza No. 59)
5. No. 48 of 1921.

During the period of Kumāra Kampaṇā the Śabhā is mentioned only thrice. An inscription from Kāvēripākkam dated 22nd March 1371 registers the sale deed of a piece of land by the Mahāśabhā of Kāvērippakkam to several brahmins for a sum of 400 Vīrachampaṉ Kuḷigai.[6] Two records from Tiruppulivaṉam in Chingleput district dated 29th June 1374 mention that the assembly at Ukkal sold the village of Arasāṉipālai for 600 paṇams to one Pāmbaṉindār Pallavarāyar who paid the sum in three instalments. The members of the Śabhā gave him a receipt and there were also witnesses to the sale.[7] From Āvūr near Tiruvaṇṇamalai we get two inscriptions which mention that there was a Śabhā at Vaippūr alias Śōmanātha Chaturvēdimaṅgalam. The Mahājaṉās or the members of the Śabhā received a gift of the village of Ērpākkam according to the order of Kumāra Kampaṇā.[8]

When Harihara II was the Emperor of Vijayanagar and Virrupaṇṇa Uḍaiyār was the Mahamaṇḍalēśvara of the Tamiḻ country, the Śabhās are mentioned only in two places. According to a record from Ārpākkam (N.A.Dt.) the assembly at Ukkal sold the village of Śiṟṟuṉippākkam to a native of Magaral in Eyil Kōṭṭam.[9] Four other records from Perunagar near Kāñchi mention the various activities of the Śabhā at Ukkal. These records are dated 24th November 1382, 31st January 1383 and 19th October 1383. The earliest of these records mentions that the Śabhā sold the village of Iṭṭikaipaṭṭu to certain individuals for a consideration of 400 paṇams. The next record mentions that one Srirāmā Bhaṭṭaṉ purchased 2/3 share of the villages of Iḷaiyachēri and Tiruppulittāṅgal from the Ukkal Śabhā for 400 paṇams and then sold them to a relative of his at Vēlūr. The third record informs us that one Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭaṉ bought 1/3 share of a particular village for 200 paṇams and subsequently sold them to the Śabhā itself for 250 paṇams. The last inscription registers the sale of two villages for 800 paṇams to a number of individuals.[10] The existence of another Śabhā at Tirumaḷiśai alias Bukkatturaivalla Chaturvēdimaṅgnlam is mentioned in a record dated A. D. 1389. It registers the sale deed of some lands by the Śabhā to the Jagaṉṉātha Perumāl temple at Tirumaḷiśai which was the birth place of one of the twelve Vaishṇavite Āḷvārs.[11]

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[6] 386 of 1905.

[7] Nos. 389 and 390 of 1923.

[8] Nos. 304 and 305 of 1919.

[9] 133 of 1923.

Then, it is during the reign of Dēvarāya II (1422–1446) that the activities of the Śabhās are mentioned in inscriptions. In A. D. 1434 the Śabhā of Uttiramērūr made a gift of the village of Karuvēppampūṇḍi as a tirunāmattukkāṇi to the Śivā temple at Tiruppulivaṉam.[12] The record also mentions a previous gift of the village of Tiruchitra Kūṭanallūr to the above temple by the same assembly. An inscription from the Śivā temple at Tiruvaratturai (S. A. Dt.) dated 4th November 1443 mentions that the assembly and the Tantrimar of Karaippōkku nāḍu assigned the taxes collected from the settlers in the village for conducting a service called Perianāṭṭāṉ Sandhi.[13] Neṟkuṇam alias Vairābharaṇa chaturvēdimaṅgalam (S. A. Dt.) had a Śabhā during the reign of Dēvarāya II. The Śabhā along with the Ūravar of Aviyūr gave the Kāṇiyātchi right of the village of Vadakaraitāyanūr to the Kaikkōḷas of the village for an amount of 30 paṇams.[14]

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[10] Nos. 350, 358, 359 and 360 of 1923.

[11] M. E. R. 1923. paragraph 73.

[12] 202 of 1923

[13] 212 of 1929.

[14] 209 of 1935.

The last mention of the existence of a Śabhā during the 15th century is during the reign of Mallikārjuṇā when an inscription from Kāvēripākkam refers to the Śabhā at that place in A. D. 1459.[15]

The foregoing evidences show that the Śabhās existed only in ten places during this period. Of these, five worked in North Arcot district, three in Chingleput district and only two in South Arcot.

	N. A. Dt.	*Chingleput*	*S. A. Dt.*
1)	Kāṅgayanallūr.	Kāñchi.	Tiruvaratturai.
2)	Ukkal.	Tirumaḻiśai	Ner̤kuṇam
3)	Ośur.	Uttiramērur.	
4)	Kāvēripākkam.		
5)	Vaippūr.		

The existence of the Śabhās only in ten places in the whole of the Tamiḷ country is a clear evidence of the decline of the institution as such. After the period of Mallikārjuṇa (1459) we have no references at all to the activities of the Śabhā in the inscriptions. Further, the main functions of the Śabhā in the above places seem to be the sale of lands and shares in the villages to private individuals. About the other activities of the Śabhās, which we have noticed during the Chōḷa period, we have no information during this era. So, the thesis, that the Śabhās or the Mahāśabhās began to decline from the later half of the 13th century and then disappeared at the close of the 15th century may very well hold the ground.

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[15] 392 of 1905.

Ūr during the Vijayanagar period:

The existence of the Ūr or the Ūravar in the northern part of the Tamiḻ country is mentioned in several inscriptions. The earliest of these records comes from Viriñchipuram dated in the 14th year of one Vīrapāṇḍyadēva. It records the order of one Kulasēkhara Śambuvarāya to the Ūravar of the village of Uḻḻigai making a gift of some taxes due from them to the temple.[16] There was an assembly of the Ūr at Śadrās which was known as Rājanārayaṇaṉ Paṭṭinam during the time of Rājanārayaṇa Śambuvarāya. A record from that place, dated 5th February 1353 mentions the assignment of tolls and duties on articles of merchandise to the temple at Śadrās. The order was issued by Rājanārayaṇa to the Ūravar and the merchants of the eighteen Vishayas[17] During the 8th year of Rājanārayaṇa Śambuvarāya the Ūravar of Kuṉṟattūr (Chingleput Dt.) sold some lands to the temple of Tirunāgēśvarām Uḍaiyār.[18]

Out of the 132 inscriptions of Kumāra Kampaṇā's period only one from Daḷavanūr mentions about the Ūravar. Sāḷuva Maṅgu, who was the Ōlai of Daḷavaṉūr, informed the Ūravar of the place that 16 mās of land was given as Devadāṉa to the temple with the concurrence of Koppaṉār.[19] There was an assembly of the Ūravar at Śambuvarāyanallūr (Ārni Taluk N. A. Dt.) according to a record from the Virupākshā temple at that place. On 10th November 1382 Maṅgappa Uḍaiyār, an officer of Virupaṉṉa Uḍaiyār issued an order to the Ūravar endowing a vēli of land and house sites around the temple for offerings and worship.[20] An inscription from Vayalūr (Viruddhachalam Taluk) dated November 1401, mentions the transfer of one mā of land in favour of the temple by the Ūravar.[21] The Ūr at Tiruvāṇḍārkoil had a membership of 4000 according to a record from that place dated 17th August 1406.[22] The Epigraphist while editing this record had observed that the assembly must have been a very unwieldy body to transact any business.[23] But we must know that it was only on extraordinary occasions that the whole Ūravar met. For transacting the executive functions of the Ūr there might have been smaller committees. Aviyūr in Tirukkoyilūr Taluk (S.A.Dt.) had the Ūr assembly during the reign of Dēvaraya II. The assembly and the Śabhā of Neṟkuṇam met jointly for selling a piece of land in A. D. 1426,[24]

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[16] 178 of 1940.

[17] 103 of 1933.

[18] 187 of 1930. The temple of Tirunāgēśvaram Uḍaya Nāyanār is said to have been constructed by Sēkkiḻār, the chief minister of Kulottuṅga III, Chōḻā monarch.

[19] 52 of 1905.

Though the assembly of the Ūr or the Ūravar is mentioned only in a few places in the northern part of the Tamiḻ country, yet it seems to have been a widely prevalent institution in the southern part of the country especially in what was formerly the region forming the native state of Pudukkoṭṭai. The activities of the Ūr in that area were many and it was active in as many as twenty villages in the 14th and 15th centuries. During the viceroyalty of Kumāra Kampaṇā, the Ūravar of Tiruveṅgaivāśal entered into an agreement with the Ūravar of Irumbāḻi. According to the compact the former

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20. 96 of 1941.
21. 102 of 1935.
22. 217 of 1917.
23. M. E. R. 1918. paragraph 67.
24. 209 of 1935.

bestowed on the latter the Pāḍikāval rights of Tiruvēṅgai vāśal.[25] A record from Keeranūr dated A. D. 1406 mentions that the trustees of the temple of Keeranūr, the Kaikkōḷās and the Ūravar representing the Ūr conferred certain honours on two gold-smiths who repaired the compound walls of the temple.[26] A second example of the Ūravar conferring honours and titles is evident in an inscription from Mēlappaṉaiūr during the reign of Virupaṇṇa Uḍaiyār. The Ūravar of Kuḍalūr and Kuḷamaṅgalam conferred on a shepherd called Poṉṉaṉ, the title of Kalaṅgāda Kaṇḍaṉ for having brought several goats and sacrificed them before the goddess.[27]

The village of Peruṅgaḷūr was called Perugoḷiyūr in the 15th century and the Ūravar of that village received a gift of some lands from the chieftain of Vārāppūr on behalf of the Śivā temple at Peruṅgaḷūr in A. D. 1403.[28] The Ūravar of Kīḻappuduvayal conferred certain rights on gold-smiths in that village.[29] According to another record from Peruṅgalūr, the Ūravar received a gift of land from one Araiyaṉ of Muṉṉāttūr for services in the temple.[30] No. 698 mentions about the Ūravar of Kīḻakkurichi. From No. 700 we know about the Ūravar in the villages of Kīḻattaṉiyam, Ollaiyūrmaṅgalam, Melattāṉiyam, Kārkudi, Mēlmaṇanallur and

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25. 681 of P. S. I.
26. 690 of P. S. I. கீரனூர் உத்தம தாளீஸ்வரமுடையார் கோயில் தானியரும் கைக்கோளமுதலிகளும் கீரனூர் ஊராக இசைந்த ஊரவரும் ஆகிய இவ்வனைவரோம்.
27. 692 of P. S. I.
28. 693 of P. S. I.
29. 694 of P. S. I.
30. 696 of P. S. I.

Kīḻmaṉanallūr. They met together as a body and auctioned the monopoly right of cutting trees in the forests on one Dēvargaḷ Nāyanār for a consolidated sum of 750 paṇams in order to pay the dues to the government.[31] A record from Nārattāmalai dated A. D. 1431 mentions that the trustees of the temple and the Ūravar met together in the Vīrapāṇḍyaṉ hall and conferred lands, house sites and other privileges on three persons who were the sons of one Dēvaraḍiyār.[32] An agreement between the Ūravar of Mēlapuduvayal and Kīḻa-puduvayal and two other representatives of the Ūr on the one hand and one Dēvarāya Vijayālaya Muttaraiyaṉ on the other is mentioned in No. 704 of these inscriptions. The Ūravar of Virāchilai and the trustees of the temple met in the common flower garden and honoured one Tirumalaiyāṇḍāṉ who recast the idols of the temple with great skill and neatness of execution. This Tirumalaiyāṇḍān was given lands, house sites and several other rights in the temple by the Ūravar.[33]

The Ūravar of Kīḻakkurichi and the trustees of the temple appointed one Śeppiyadarayar as the executive officer of the temple and conferred several previleges on one

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[31] 700 of P. S. I. The exact term which is used in the inscription is 'Marakkalachuvandiram' which may mean the monopoly right of owning ships. But the region being an inland one there was no possibility of ships being built there. Therefore, it māy refer to the right of cutting trees in the forest for ship-building purposes. Perhaps the wooden materials were cut in the forests in the area and then sent to the coastal region for constructing boats and ships.

[32] 702 of P. S. I.

[33] 705 and 706 of P. S. I.

Dēvaraḍiyāḷ.[34] An inscription from Tirumayam mentions that one Vijayālayadēva gave a village as Kudiniṅgādēvadāṉam to the Ūravar of Tulaiyanilai and Paraḷi in A. D. 1502.[35] In A. D. 1503 the Ūravar of Tēṉūr (தேனூர்) gave certain lands, the four boundaries of which were clearly indicated, to the Bhumisvara temple at Śevvalūr to pay off a loan of 300 poṉs which they had borrowed from the temple treasury. Again, the Ūravar of Pālaikkuḍi, Kaḷāṅguḍi and Kiḷinallūr, together sold some lands to the temple of Tiruvaraṅgulam to pay the Kaḍamai (government dues) due to Narasa Nāyaka in A. D. 1518.[36]

An analysis and study of the inscriptions which were inscribed later enable to conclude that the institution of Ūravar also began to decline. The later records mention the term Ūravar only occasionally either individually or in a corporate capacity in conducting the important functions in the village. Henceforth, we hear more of contracts and agreements among individuals than the corporate activity of the Ūr. Therefore, it may be surmised that from the first decade of the 16th century the local institution of the Ūr also began to decline like the Śabhās.

(c) The Nāḍu during the Vijayanagar period:

The Nāḍu or the Nāṭṭavar represented the nāḍu which was a political division below the Vaḷanāḍu. During the period of Kumāra Kampaṇā the meetings of the Nāṭṭavar are mentioned in four places at Poṉpaṭṭi in Tanjore, Tiruvaypāḍi and Tirukkōyilūr in South Arcot and at Tiruppullāṇi in Rāmnāḍ. In A. D. 1372 Kampaṇā made the gift of a jewel to the temple of Deivachilai Perumāḷ with the approval of the *Nāṭṭār* at Poṉpaṭṭai.[1] Another gift made by Kampaṇā to the temple at Tiruppullāṇi was made by the suggestion and request of the Nāṭṭār who met together in the Kāṅgeyaṉ hall.[2] An inscription from Arakaṇḍanallūr (S. A. Dt.) dated 8th May 1359 mentions that the Nāṭṭavar of Tirukkoyilūr paṟṟu made a gift of land to one Davapperumāḷ.[3] On 12th October 1369 the Nāṭṭavar of Tiruvaypāḍi in Magadaimaṇḍalam instituted the 7th day festival in the Siva temple at Tiruppālapandal.[4]

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[34] 703 and 710 of P. S. I.

[35] 720 of P. S. I.

[36] 729 of P. S. I

When Dēvarāya I was the emperor of Vijayanagar the activities of the Nāṭṭavar are mentioned in two places in Tirukkōyilūr area. A record from Ādaṉūr (Viruddāchalam Taluk) dated 6th March 1416 mentions that the Nāṭṭavar of Ādaṉūr paṟṟu received twenty Paṇams from one Ātkoṇḍadeva and sold some lands to him in a village nearby.[5] The Nāṭṭavar of Paḻaṅgūr Paṟṟu and Muḍipaṉūr Paṟṟu remitted certain taxes on devadāna lands at Meyyūr in order to provide for worship, festivals and repairs in the temple on 10th October 1410.[6] During the reign of Devarāya II an inscription from

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[1] 617 of 1902.

> "நாயனார் தெய்வச்சிலை பெருமாள் திருமிழலை நாடன் திருமண்டபத்திலே எழுந்தருளியிருந்து .... நாட்டு மரியாதை, கடமை, வினியோகம், தூரக்காசு உள்ளதும் மற்றுமுள்ளவை அடங்கலும் பெற *நாட்டார்* அருளிச்செயல்படிக்கு இவை நாட்டுக்கணக்கு உலகு தொழ நின்றான் எழுத்து."

[2] 114 of 1903.

[3] 193 of 1934.

[4] 163 of 1904.

[5] 125 of 1933.

[6] 404 of 1938.

Tiruvaigāvūr dated 21st October 1429 registers an agreement between the Nāṭṭavar of Parāntakanāḍu and the Valaṅgai 98 and the Iḍaṅgai 98 sects regarding the payment of Rājagaram dues to the king.[7] A record from Srimuṣhṇam dated 4th November 1443 informs us that the Nāṭṭār and the Tantrimār of Iruṅgōḷappāḍināḍu made a joint gift of certain taxes payable by the tenants living in the Tirumaḍaviḷagam of the Śivā and Viṣhṇu temples for conducting a service called the Periyanāṭṭāṉsandi.[8] Bearing the above date an inscription from Tiruvaraṭṭurai mentions that the Nāṭṭār and Tantrimar of the 18 Paṟṟus assigned the taxes collected from the people residing in the maḍaviḷāgam for instituting a service in the temple.[9] According to a record dated A. D. 1449, the Nāṭṭavar of Kaṅgeyanāḍu (Coimbatore Dt.) made a gift of six golden coins to the Vinayaka temple when one Kampayya Nāyaka was the agent of Mallikārjuṇa Rāya.[10]

Two other Nāḍu assemblies during the period of Mallikārjuṇa were those of Vaḍatuṇḍanāḍu and Karaippōkku Nāḍu. We know about them from two records from Peṇṇādam in the western part of the present South Arcot district. The first assembly made a gift of taxes on some lands to the temple for offerings and worship and the second assigned some lands to the Śivā temple at Peṇṇādam.[11] The Nāṭṭavar of Ālattūr Paṟṟu endowed the village called Kaṇḍarādittamaṅgalam to the temple of the same place on the day with the asterism of Magam for a special worship for the success of Śvāmi Narasa Nāyaka on 14th January 1499.[12]

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[7] 59 of 1914.

[8] 230 of 1916.

[9] 215 of 1929.

[10] 216 of 1920.

[11] 257 and 261 of 1929.

[12] 190 of 1941.

At Kaḷḷakurichi the Nāṭṭavar made an annual gift of 12 kalams of oil for a perpetual lamp and for torches on festival days in the temple of Uḷaganallūr.[13]

The Nāḍu assembly seems to have functioned in nine places in the southern part of the Tamiḻ country during this period. When Śavaṇa Uḍaiyār was the governor, the Nāṭṭavar of Jayaṣiṅgakulakāla Vaḷanāḍu sold a piece of land to the temple at Tirukkōkarṇam in order to pay off their dues to the government.[14] The Nāṭṭavar of Virudurājabhayaṅgara Vaḷanāḍu sold a piece of land to one Vijayālayadēva of Śūraikkuḍi. Some of the representatives of the Nāḍu have signed the document in A.D. 1388.[15] In A.D. 1391 the Nāṭṭavar of Vaḍakōnāḍu *commended* themselves to the protection of one Naraśiṅgadēva and requested him to protect them from internal and external troubles. They have promised to give certain feudal incidents in kind for the protection which he was expected to give. Some twenty representatives of the Nāḍu have signed the document.[16] In A. D. 1399 the Nāṭṭavar of Teṉkōnāḍu had made an endowment to the Śivā temple at Tirukkōkarṇam.[17]

That the Nāṭṭavar had the power of remitting some of the local taxes due to them is proved by an inscription of Dēvarāya I dated A. D. 1421. According to the record one Vijayālayadēva of Śūraikkuḍi endowed 100 paṇams to the local temple. This amount was to be deducted every year by the Nāṭṭavar of Atalaiyūr nāḍu from the revenues due to the chieftain.[18] In A. D. 1462, the Nāṭṭavar of Kārkurichi agreed to accept an endowment for various services to the Śivā temple at Tirukkaṭṭaḷai near Pudukkōṭṭai, from Sriraṅga Pallavarāyan of Peruṅgaḷūr.[19] The Nāḍu assembly continued to function during the reign of Kṛishṇadēvarāya also in the southern part of the Tamiḻ country according to two inscriptions dated A. D. 1520 and 1523. They refer to the Nāṭṭavar of Vallanāḍu selling lands to the temple at Tiruvaraṅguḷam for paying off their dues to the Vijayanagar government.[20]

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[13] 177 of 1941.

[14] 682 of P. S. I. This inscription is built in at its beginning. Otherwise it would have thrown more light on the working of the Nāḍu.

[15] 685 of P. S. I.

[16] 687 of P. S. I. The Tamiḻ term for feudal commendation is 'Arasuśuvandiram' according to the record.

[17] 691 of P. S. I.

From the foregoing evidences it is possible to postulate certain general observations about the activities of the local institutions in the 14th, 15th and the first decade of the 16th centuries. We have already seen that the golden age of the Mahāśabhās was the period from A. D. 907 to 1120. The number of inscriptions which mention about the Sabhās was 413 during this period. But, during the next two periods, that is, from A. D. 1120 to 1216 and 1216 to 1279 the number of inscriptions mentioning the Sabhās dwindled to 89 and 40 respectively during the Chōḻa period.[21] Out of a total of 616 inscriptions covering the period roughly from A. D. 1336 to 1500, only 45 records mention the local institutions such as the Sabhā, the Ūr and the Nāḍu in the northern part of the Tamiḻ country. This substantial decline in the activities of the village institutions was due to various causes during the later part of Chōḻa imperialism about which we are not now concerned. In the southern part of the Tamiḻ country, south of the river Kāvēri, out of the 60 inscriptions about 30 mention about the Ūr and the Nāḍu. None of the inscriptions mentions about the Śabhā in this region. This may be due to the fact that the Brahmins were not encouraged to settle in the villages of this region. Though there were some chaturvēdimaṅgalams, yet the lack of perennial sources of water like the Kāvēri, the Peṉṉār and the Pālār in the region south of the Kēvēri, prevented the establishment of permanent Brahmin colonies in those days. Therefore, we do not find any Mahāśabhā inscriptions in that region. On the other hand, we have plenty of inscriptions mentioning the Ūr and the Nāḍu. Out of the 30 records, which mention about them half of them refer to 23 villages in which the Ūr was widely prevalent. Since the Nāḍu was a bigger and wider political division than the Ūr or village, the number of Nāḍu assemblies is only ten. These Ūr and Nāḍu were more active in the southern part of the Tamiḻ country than in the northern part forming the present Tanjore, South Arcot, Chingleput and North Arcot districts. Further, in the north Tamiḻ-nāḍ, the 'Nāḍu' represented the political division of that name, but there were also the Nāḍu assemblies in the Paṟṟus. So, we have the Nāṭṭavar of Tirukkoyilūr Paṟṟu, Ādaṉūr Paṟṟu and Muḍiyanūr Paṟṟu. In the southern part of the Tamiḻ country the Nāḍu represented the people of Vāḻanāḍu.

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[18] 699 of P. S. I.

[19] 711 of P. S. I.

[20] 733 and 737 of P. S. I.

[21] R. Sathinathaier. Studies. pp. 30–31.

Causes of decline of the Local Institutions during the Vijayanagar Period:

Why did the local institutions decline and disappear during the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries? Were the rulers of Vijayanagar solely responsible for it or were there other causes? Here, we are not concerned with the causes which brought about the decline during the last stages of Chōḻa imperialism and during the struggle between the Pāṇḍyas and the Hoysaḷas for hegemony over the Tamiḻ country. We have to deal only with the causes which brought about the gradual suspension of the activities of the local institutions during the Muslim invasions and the subsequent periods. The Muslim invasions of Mālik Kafur, Mubrāk Shāh and Muhammad-bin-Tughlak not only destroyed the traces of the Pāṇḍyā and Hoyśaḷa rule in the Tamiḻ country but also wrought indescribable havoc on the religious, cultural and local institutions in the country. Their main aims were the plunder of the accumulated wealth in the palaces and temples. Wealth, in those days, was stored by the rulers and the temple authorities in the shape of gold, precious stones, pearls and idols of precious metals. It was those costly and precious articles that were plundered and carried away by the invaders.

This was a serious and irrepairable loss to the temples and the loss suffered by the temples deprived the local organisations such as the Śabha, the Ūr and the Nāḍu of their means of carrying on the local administration efficiently. When these institutions lost their charitable endowments, they were left without any other resources. When the temples were plundered and desecrated, when the Agraharas were burnt and the Brahmins driven out of towns and villages, how can we expect the local institutions especially the Śabhās, to work effectively as before? As Mr. K. V. Subramaniya Iyer observes, "In the dark days of what is generally called the memorable invasion of Mālik Kafūr as well as during the rule of the Bahmani Sulṭāns, the political and social institutions of Southern India which were in existence from the earliest times had been shaken root and branch."[1] Though the Śāmbuvarāya rulers successfully restored some of the religious and local institutions in the northern part of the

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[1] K. V. Subramaniya Iyer. Historical Sketches of Ancient Deccan. p. 313.

Tamiḻ country, yet they could not do much since their power and resources were limited.

Secondly, the establishment of the Sulṭānate of Madura and its existence for nearly half a century in the Southern Tamiḻ-nāḍ must be regarded as the darkest period in mediaeval South Indian history. The cruelties and the atrocities of the Sulṭāns are described by Ibn-Batuta. The confiscation of lands belonging to the Brahmins, destruction and plunder of temples, slaughtering of the cow and the prohibition of the study of the Vēdās and the Purāṇās were some of the settled policies of the Sulṭāns of Madura. Several inscriptions in the Tamiḻ country describe and confirm the information supplied by Ibn-Batuta. An inscription mentions about the lack of good government in Virudurāja-bhyaṅgara Vaḷanāḍu during the time of one Ādisūrattāṉ.[2] Another record states that during the ninth year of Ādisūrattāṉ the villagers of Kuḷamaṅgalam and Paṉaiyūr fought with each other as mercenaries. As a result, there was severe loss of life and property and they had to abandon their villages.[3] Therefore, when the paternal attitude of the old Chōḻa and Pāṇḍya rulers towards the village communities gave place to the cold indifference of an alien rule, those admirable institutions began to decline.

Thirdly, we have to consider whether the Vijayanagar rulers actively encouraged the local institutions or were they definitely against them? This is not a question to be easily decided because we cannot definitely assert that they encouraged the local institutions. Nor can we prove that they discouraged them. The only course open to them was to follow a via-media policy. They seem to have allowed the local institutions to continue where they had existed. But they did not actively develop and nurse them to grow more and more. In this connection it would be profitable to examine the views of various scholars regarding this aspect of Vijayanagar rule.

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[2] P. S. I. No. 669.

[3] P. S. I. No. 670. The identification of this Ādiśūrattaṉ is an unsettled problem. The date given in the inscription is A. H. 732. The name may refer to one of the Sulṭāns of Madura.

Dr. B. A. Saletore is of opinion that the rulers of Vijayanagar continued to encourage the local institutions. He says, "As promoters of the Pūrvamariyāde (ancient constitutional usage) it was their endeavour to preserve the old order of things and the ancient officers to continue under the new government, although they showed their discretion by placing over the local bodies, officers of the Central government".[4]

But this view is questioned by other scholars. Dr. T. V. Mahalingam and Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri have ranged themselves against this view and put forward the opposite one. The former says, "The respect (of the Vijayanagar rulers) for Pūrvamariyāde was confined only to certain customary rights, which certain individuals or groups of persons enjoyed for a long time past. It does not appear to have had anything to do with the fostering of the village republics."[5] Prof. K. A. N. Sastri supports this latter view when he says that though the rulers of Vijayanagar had to protect the Hindu society from dissolution they did not encourage the local institutions in the Tamiḻ country. "The admirable system of autonomous village rule that had been established under the Chōḷas and that survived in tact for several generations after them, now fell into neglect and all but disappeared in this period, thanks to the pressure of military needs of the emperors and the feudatory Nāyakās. The militarisation of the empire proved disastrous to some of its most valued civil institutions."[6] Now, we have to shape our views between these two extremes – the one maintaining that the rulers of Vijayanagar continued to support local institutions and the other stressing that they did not actively support them. The safe course seems to be that the attitude of the rulers towards lōcal institutions was sympathetic to begin with, but later, circumstances forced them to leave the institutions to their own fate – that is decline.

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[4] Social and Political Life in Vijayanagar. Vol. I. p. 342.

[5] Ad. and Soc, Life. p. 217.

It is true that the members of the Śaṅgama dynasty followed the noble principle of 'Pūrvamariyādibhaddati' – that is the preservation of the old culture and the tradition of the people. They were conservative in their outlook as regards religion and society and preserved the ancient temples and religious practices and the caste system generally. But they were not enthusiastic supporters of village communities. They did not actually destroy the Śabhā, the Ūr and the Nāḍu. We have evidences to prove that they continued to work in scattered places till the close of the 15th century. But, what we have to presume is that they did not actually revive those ancient institutions where they have ceased to function. The Vijayanagar government was organised partly on feudal and partly on military basis and so it was not conducive to the active functioning of the village republics.[7] In the inscriptions we know about several villages which were called Padāipaṟṟus and which were given to military commanders and soldiers as remuneration for their military service.[8] These soldiers were mainly Kaṉṉadiyās and Andhras and they were not favourably disposed towards the local institutions.

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[6] K. A. N. Sastri. A History sf South India. P. 11.

[7] Dr. T. V. Mahalingam. Ibid. p. 372.

Another important feature of the Vijayanagar government in the Tamiḻ country was that it was a highly centralised feudalism. Most of the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras were members of the royal family in the early stages of Vijayanagar rule. These governors were strictly controlled by the emperor from the time of Harihara II and they were not expected to foster the local organisations. Instead of the village assemblies collecting taxes, remitting them, receiving endowments for the temples and attending to various activities in the rural areas, we hear of Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras, Pradhāṉis, Daṉṉāyakas, Bhaṇḍāradaras and others taking the place of the village assemblies. The officers of the Śabhā, the Ūr and the Nāḍu came under the control of the provincial government and we do not hear about new rules or vyavaśthās to regulate the working of the Śabhā. Though there were traces of the activities of the Śabhās, here and there during this period, yet they did not exist as *growing* institutions but continued only as declining ones.

Fifthly, the introduction of the Nāyaṉkara and Āyagār systems in the provincial and local spheres by the Vijayanagar rulers brought about the gradual decline and disappearance of the local institutions in the Tamiḻ country. The Ghaṇabhōgam of the communal lands in the villages were given over to the Nāyakās by the rulers, and were converted into military tenure lands. Chaturvēdimaṅgalams became Nāyakamaṅgalams. The Nāyakās were more interested in getting their revenues than in fostering rural administrative institutions. Just as the townships, the borroughs and the shires lost their administrative and judicial independence after the Norman conquest of England by the effective feudal regulations introduced by William the Conqueror, the Nāyaṉkara system deprived the Śabhā, the Ūr and the Nāḍu of many of their powers, privileges and duties.

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[8] P. S. I. Nos. 689 to 723.

Coupled with the introduction of the Nāyaṉkara system was that of the Āyagār arrangement. The 15th century seems to be the transitional period in the Tamiḻ country, in which the old rural institutions like the Śabhā and the Ūr gradually gave place to the modern village officers like the Karṇam, Headman and Talaiyāris. These officers were known as the Senabhova, Gauḍa or Reddi and Talari respectively in the Āndhra districts. These officers and other professionals in the villages were known as the Āyagārs. The origin of the Āyagār system cannot be easily traced. It was already in full force during the Kākatīya rule in the Āndhra parts.[9]

But these offiicers were unknown in the Tamiḻ country in the pre-Vijayanagar days. Since they are functioning now and since they existed during the early period of the East India Company, they should, probably, have been appointed during this transitional period. These village officers were the representatives of the provincial government though we get no information about them in the inscriptions. The Āyagārs were twelve in number and the first three of them were appointed by the Government. They were:

1) Karṇam or Senabhova
2) Headman, (Maṉiyam) Reddi or Gauda
3) Talaiyāri of Talāri

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[9] Dr. N. Venkataramanayya. Studies. p. 161.

The Karṇam maintained the revenue accounts of the village. He kept registers in which the extent of the village site, the area of the land belonging to the village, its boundaries, the extent of rent-free lands, groves, gardens, crematories, tanks, the number of wells and canals and the extent of land belonging to each ryot in the village were entered.[10] The Karṇam was closely associated with the Headman of the village whose main duty was the collection of land revenue due to the government. Many of the powers and duties of the Śabhā and the Ūr were now entrusted to them. The Talaiyāri became the village policeman. He was known in the Tamiḻ country as *Veṭṭi* and a special tax called Kuḍimai or Veṭṭivari was collected from the people for maintaining him.

The other members of the Āyagār system such as the Purohit, goldsmith, Neerganti or waterman, black-smith, carpenter, potter, washerman, barber and shoemaker were not government officials but professionals. They were not paid any salary by the government for their services but granted tax-free lands or māṉyams which they were to enjoy in perpetuity. They were liable to pay a small quit-rent[11] called jōḍi for their māṉyams. In addition to this, the ryots in the villages had to give them a fixed quantity of paddy or other produce at the time of harvest.[12] Sales of lands in the villages had to be effected with the knowledge of the Karṇam and the Head-man and the Karṇam was the writer of the sale or mortgage deeds as he still continues to be.

Thus the Nāyaṉkara and the Āyagār systems in addition to the various causes which we have mentioned led to the decline of the ancient Śabhās, Ūrs and the Nāḍus.

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[10] Ibid.

[11] Ad. and Soc. Life. p. 219.

[12] Studies. p. 163.

CHAPTER — VII

SOME PROBLEMS IN THE HISTORY OF THE TAMIL̤ COUNTRY (1463–1500)

(a) *Oḍḍiyan̤ Kalābai:*

We have seen that the Tamil̤ country was conquered by Kumāra Kampan̤ā from the Śambuvarāya and the Sult̤ān of Madura during the period from 1362 to 1371. For a century from 1363 to 1463, the Vijayanagar rule over the Tamil̤ country was steadily consolidated under the able leadership of Harihara II, Virupan̤n̤a Uḍaiyār, Dēvarāya I and Dēvarāya II. But, during the later half of Mallikārjun̤a's rule and during the weak rule of Virupāksha we find a steady decline in the authority of the Śaṅgama rulers. The accession of Mallikārjun̤a marked the beginning of a long period of decline which ended with the disappearance of the Śaṅgama dynasty in A. D. 1485.[1] This is also alluded to in the Vidyāran̤ya Kālajñana which says "After the death of the ninth king (Dēvarāya II) of this (Śaṅgama) dynasty there will be much distress in the country."[2] Nuniz also mentions that Mallikārjun̤a wasted much of his resources on temples and Brahmins and the people had to suffer.[3]

In the Tamil̤ country, there happened the invasion of Kapilēśvara Gajapati of Orissa and it is referred to in inscriptions as *Oḍḍiyan̤ Kalābai*. The term Oḍḍiyan̤ refers to the leader of the invasion and his followers who occupied the Tamiḻ country for some time and caused great commotion and disturbance. An inscription from Muṉṉūr (S. A. Dt.) mentions that Kumāra Hamvīradēva, son of Dakshiṇa-kapilēśvara was ruling in Saka 1386 (A. D. 1464) after having conquered Vaḷudilambaṟṟu Uśāvaḍi, Tiruvārūr, Tirumalāpaḷḷi and Chandragiri. He had also made an endowment to the Vishṇu temple at Muṉṉūr for a special service called 'Hamvīrabhogam'.[4] Now, what led to the conquest of the Tamiḻ country by Kumāra Hamvīra, the son of Kapilēśvara Gajapati of Orissa?

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[1] Further Sources. Vol. I. p. 112.

[2] Ibid.

[3] R. Sewell. F. E. pp. 304–5.

The early history of Kapilēśvara Gajapati is shrouded in mystery and legend. According to one version, Kapilēśvara was a minister of Bhāṇudēva IV of the Eastern Gaṅga family, usurped the throne after the death of his master and became the founder of the Sūryavamśa dynasty in A. D. 1434–35.[5] The accession of Kapilēśvara Gajapati coincided with the decline of the Śaṅgama power under Mallikārjuṇa. During the reign of Dēvarāya II, Kapilēśvara seems to have invaded the northern part of the Vijayanagar empire in A. D. 1437. But, Dēvarāya II sent a strong army under Mallappa Uḍaiyār who defeated Kapilēśvara and put him to flight.[6] In order to wipe off this defeat Kapilēśvara made common cause with the Bāhmaṇi Sulṭān Alā-ud-din II and invaded Vijayanagar soon after the death of Dēvarāya II. According to Dr. Venkataramanayya this invasion of Vijayanagar happened in A. D. 1447 soon after the accession of Mallikārjuṇa.[7] What was the result of this campaign? Gaṅgadhara the author of a Sanskrit drama, Gaṅgādāśapratāpavilāsam mentions that "Mallikārjuṇa sallied forth from his capital like a lion from his den and routed the armies of the besiegers after completely defeating them."[8] But the Anantavaram grant of Pratāparudra Gājapati, dated A. D. 1500 asserts that Kapilēśvara not only captured Vijayanagar but exacted tribute from the ruler of Vijayanagar.[9] We are not in a position to state definitely whether Mallikārjuṇa was successful over the Gajapati or not. Anyhow, we have to believe Gaṅgādhara when he says that the Gajapati ruler was defeated by Mallikārjuṇa.

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[4] No. 51 of 1919.

[5] R. D. Banerji. History of Orissa. Vol. I. pp. 287–88 and Further Sōurces. Vol. I. pp. 113–114.

[6] F. S. p. 105.

But, after this initial victory, Mallikārjuṇa seems to have lost all capacity for effective leadership and lapsed into indolence and this gave a golden opportunity to Kapilēśvara for expanding his empire southwards. Rājamahēndri and Koṇḍavīdu were conquered from the Reddis who were formerly subject to Vijayanagar. The fort of Udayagiri was also brought under his rule. The conquest of Udayagiri in A. D. 1462 proved to be the forerunner of the Oḍḍiyaṇ invasion of the Tamiḻ country. Mr. R. D. Banerji maintains that Kapilēśvara had succeeded in conquering the whole of the eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal as far as the South Arcot district.[10] The Jagaṇṇātha inscription of Gōpināthpūr gives a graphic description of his invasion of Vijayanagar territory. "Having made Gōpinātha Mahāpātra the commander-in-chief, Kapilēśvara enjoyed the Lakshmi of Karnāṭa, levied

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7. Ibid. p. 115.
8. Sources. p. 65.
9. F. S. p. 112.
10. History of Orissa. Vol. 1. p. 291.

tributes over the Khaṇḍa hill and carried Kāñchi by force.[11] The Anantavaram plates mention that Kumāra Hamvīra, the son of Kapilēśvara carried his arms successfully to the Southern sea where he washed his blood-stained sword.[12]

In addition to the Muṉṉūr record, several other inscriptions in the Tamiḻ country refer to this invasion from Orissa or the Oḍḍiyaṉ Kalābai as it was called. Seven inscriptions which are all dated in Saka 1393 (A. D. 1470–71) refer to this invasion of the Gajapati and the destruction and loss caused by the Oḍḍiyaṉs. These records are available in seven places within a radius of seven miles around Tirukkōyilūr. A record from the Tirukkōyilūr temple mentions that the outerwall and tower had collapsed as a result of the attack of the Oḍḍiyaṉs and it was later repaired by one Aṉṉamarāssaya in A. D. 1471.[13] No. 287 of 1929 from Iḍaiyāru dated 12th October 1470 mentions that the temple in that village was destroyed by the Oḍḍiyaṉs. The Śivā temple at Arakaṇḍanallūr also suffered much during this invasion.[14] The temple at Neṟkuṉan was partly destroyed and the village also became desolate on account of this foreign invasion.[15] The same tale is told by two other records from Maraṅgiyūr, Siddhaliṅgamaḍam and Tiruppālappandal all of which are near Tirukkoyilūr.[16] Altogether the above mentioned seven places seem to have suffered a lot as a result of this invasion. The Sundarēśvara temple at Śembēdu near Señji (S. A. Dt.) also seems to have been completely destroyed by the

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11. J. A. S. B. Vol. 69. pp. 173–190.
12. P. of I. H. C. 1945 and F. S. Vol. I. p. 120.
13. 1 of 1905.
14. 111 of 1935.
15. 213 of 1935.
16. Nos. 87 of 1936 and 262 of 1937.

Oḍḍiyaṉs and all its wealth carried away by them. So, the temple was repaired and several new endowments were made by the above mentioned Aṉṉamarāssayya in A. D. 1471.[17] An inscription from the Śivā temple at Tiruvāmāttūr (near Villupuram) mentions that the village was in a deserted condition and the temple maṇḍapas and towers were ruined and the irrigation tank had breached owing to a foreign invasion. This foreign invasion might certainly refer to the Oḍḍiyaṉ Kalābai.[18]

Who was the leader of the invasion?

Prof. R. D. Banerji is of opinion that Kapilēśvara himself led the Oriyaṉ forces into the Tamil country and regards the title 'Dakshiṇa Kapilēśvara Kumāra Mahapātra' as referring to Kapilēśvara Gajapati.[19] Dr. N. Venkataramanayya thinks that it was not Kapilēśvara Gajapati who led the army into the Tamiḻ country but it was his son and grandson Kumāra Hamvīra and Kumāra Kapilēśvara Mahāpātra, respectively. It was the latter who was appointed as the governor of the conquered territory.[20] The inscription from Muṉṉūr dated 7th June 1464 mentions that Hamvīradēva Mahāpātra, son of Dakshiṇa Kapilēśvara was ruling over the country in Saka 1386 and he made endowments to the Śivā and Vishṇu temples at Muṉṉūr.[21] Therefore, it was not Kapilēśvara Gajapati who led the invasion against the Tamiḻ country but his son Hamvīradēva. So, the endowments and service to the temple was called 'Hamvīrabhōgam'.

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17. No. 4 of 1919.
18. 8 of 1922.
19. R· D. Banerji. Op. cit., p. 204.
20. F. S. Vol. I. p. 120.
21. No. 51 of 1919.

We do not know whether Hamvīra had a son or not and whether he followed his father in his campaign in the Tamiḻ country.

Date of the invasion:

When did Kumāra Hamvīra invade the Tamiḻ country? Kapilēśvara Gajapati became the ruler of Orissa in A.D. 1435 and lived upto 1470. Dr. S. K. Iyengar, on the authority of the Jagaṉṉātha inscription in Cuttack district, had come to the conclusion that Kapilēśvara assumed the title of 'Karnāṭajahāsasimha' or the yawning lion to the sheep of the Karnāṭa king only after A. D. 1450. This title was assumed by him about A. D. 1465 that is, after the invasion and conquest of the Vijayanagar territories as far as the South Arcot district. Further, the last date of Mallikārjuṉa Rāya is A. D. 1465. In Saka 1331 or A. D. 1459 Mallikārjuṉa ordered Śāḷuva Narasimha to march from Chandragiri to Peṉugoṇḍa on an important business connected with the administration of the country. Therefore, Dr. S. K. Iyengar was of opinion that the Oḍḍiyaṉ invasion happened between A. D. 1459 and 1465.[21(a)] Dr. Venkataramanayya assigns the date of A. D. 1463. Udayagiri was conquered by Kapilēśvara in A. D. 1462. Therefore, the Oḍḍiyaṉ Kalābai must have happened only after 1462 that is, in A. D. 1463.[22]

But, we can arrive at the date of the invasion of the Tamiḻ country more accurately than these two dates with the help of inscriptions in the Tamiḻ country. The inscription from Muṉṉūr which mentions the rule of Kumāra Hamvīra in the Tamiḻ country is dated Saka 1356, Tāraṇa, Mithuṇa, 3rd day of the bright half of the moon, Thursday, Puṣhyam.

[21(a)] A little known chapter. pp. 41–43.

[22] F. Sources. Vol. I. p. 120.

But these astronomical details, yield only an approximate date of 7th June 1464 since there is some discrepancy in the details. Therefore, it is before this date that Kumāra Hamvīra must have occupied the Tamiḻ country. Another record from Tiruvaratturai in S. A. Dt. dated 18th November 1463,[23] mentions Mallikārjuṉa's rule in the region which came under the direct rule of Kumāra Hamvīra in June 1464. Therefore, it is between these two dates that is, between 18th November 1463 and 7th June 1464 that the Oḍḍiyaṉ Kalābai must have happened in the Tamil country.

Nature of the conquest of the Tamiḻ country:

This invasion and conquest of the Tamiḻ country by Kumāra Hamvīra was subject to different kinds of interpretation. Mr. H. Krishna Sastri regarded it as not merely a passing inroad but almost an occupation of the Tamiḻ country right upto Tiruvārūr and Trichinopoly.[24] Following him Prof. R. D. Banerji maintained that Mallikārjuṉa was defeated and humiliated by Kapilēśvara Gajapati and his son and that he had to consent to the cession of the eastern part of his empire to the Orissan conquerors. These territories were never recovered either by Mallikārjuṉa or his successor Virupāksha. It was after the death of Kapilēśvara Gajapati that Sāḻuva Narasimha succeeded in re-conquering the region as far as the river Gōdāvari.[25] But this seems to be a view opposed to real facts. The records which mention about the Oḍḍiyaṉ Kalābai seem to have been misinterpreted both by the Epigraphist and Prof. Banerji. Out of the several records which mention about this invasion, four may be taken and

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23. No. 211 of 1929 dated Sakā 1385, Ṣubhāṉu, Viruchikam, Ṣu. Ashtami, Saturday, Ṣadayam.
24. A. S. R. 1919. p. 106.
25. R. D. Banerji. Op. cit., pp. 295–6.

their real significance analysed. These four records come from Iḍaiyāru, Arakaṇḍanallūr, Neṟkuṇam and Jambai, all in the South Arcot district. They were all inscribed on 12th October 1470 nearly eight years after the incident had happened. They mention that the temples in the above mentioned places have become dilapidated and services were discontinued for the previous 10 or 8 years. So, one Aṉṉamarāsayya, an agent of Sāḷuva Narasiṅga rehabilitāted them by granting them special concessions and revived worship in these temples with the approvāl and for the merit of Śāḷuva Narasiṅga.[26]

These inscriptions do not inform us that Kapilēśvara Gajapati or his son Kumāra Hamvīra continued to rule this part of the Tamiḻ country for eight or ten years. They only refer to their invasion and the destruction caused by the army to the temples. "During the Oḍḍiyaṉ invasion the country was plundered and the plunderers made no distinction between the property of the gods and that of men."[27] Though Kumāra Hamvīra made a gift to the Śivā temple at Muṉṉūr yet his real object was not to keep the Tamiḻ country under his rule permanently. Even if he had a plan to that effect, he could not have achieved that object. Because, there was Śāḷuva Narasimha, a very powerful Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, ever ready to drive the foreigners out of their occupied territory. It seems that Kumāra Hamvīra and his army entered into the Tamiḻ country when Śāluva Narasimha was otherwise engaged. When he regained his position it was impossible for the Oḍḍiyaṉs to continue in the Tamiḻ country. Either Mallikārjuṇa or his governor Śāḷuva Narasimha seems to have defeated the Oḍḍiyan̤ forces soon after A. D. 1464 and reasserted their authority over the Tamil̤ country. An inscription from the Aruḷāḷaperumāḷ temple at Kāñchi dated 3rd November 1465 mentions that Mallikārjun̤a was ruling over the Tamil̤ country.[28] Śāḷuva Narasiṅga who played an important part in driving out the Oḍḍiyan̤s from Mun̤n̤ūr had made an endowment to the Śiva temple at Mun̤n̤ūr on 7th December 1466.[29] An̤n̤amarāsaya, the agent of Śāḷuva Narasimha made a gift of land for festivals and flower garden in the same temple to which Kumāra Hamvīra had made provision for Hamvīrabhōgam. These two inscriptions clearly prove that the Oḍḍiyan̤s were driven out of the Tamil̤ country soon after their occupation. Therefore, the Oḍḍiyan̤ conquest of the Tamil̤ country did not prove to be a permanent one and Vijayanagar authority was re-established even before the death of Mallikārjun̤a. Next year on 19th August 1467 we know that Virupāksha was ruling over the Tamil̤ country according to another inscription from the Aruḷāḷaperumāḷ temple at Kāñchi.[30] (So, the only safe conclusion to be arrived at is that the expedition of the Gajapati ruler was merely a sudden raid followed by a speedy withdrawal. This Oḍḍiyan̤ Kalābai may be compared to the early Muslim invasions of the Tamil country since the temples in the South Arcot district seem to have suffered much. The wealth of the temples proved to be an irresistable temptation to the Oḍḍiyan̤s.)

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[26] Nos. 287 of 1929, 87, 111 and 213 of 1935 and M.E.R. 1907. paragraph 56.

[27] F. S. Vol. I. p. 121.

What was the southernmost limit of the Oḍḍiyan̤ conquest in the Tamil̤ country? The inscription from Mun̤n̤ūr mentions that Tiruvārūr and Tirumalāpaḷḷi were conquered by Kumāra Hamvīra. Is there any truth in this statement? Tirumalāpaḷḷi had been identified with Trichinopoly and so Prof. R. D. Banerji had maintained that the Oḍḍiyaṉ conquest extended as far as Trichinopoly in the south. But there are no other inscriptional evidences to confirm the fact that the army from Orissa occupied Tiruvārūr and Trichinopoly and so it remains to be proved only by future research. Mallikārjuṇa did not seem to have long survived the Gajapati invasion. His last inscription is dated June 1465 and the throne was usurped by Virupāksha between June and October 1465.[31]

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[28] S. I. I. Vol. 4, No. 360.

[29] 53 of 1919

[30] 658 of 1919.

(b) Bāṇā occupation of Kāñchi :

The Oḍḍiyaṉ Kalābai or the Gajapati invasion of the Tamiḻ country was not the only incident which discredited Vijayanagar rule in the later half of the 15th century. Six years later in A. D. 1469, before the evil effects of the Oḍḍiyaṉ invasion could be wiped out, there happened another event which shook the Śaṅgama rule to its very roots. This time it was an invasion and occupation of Kāñchipuram by a power from the south. Mr. Hayavadana Rao thinks that Bhuvaṇēka Vīra Śamara Kōlāhalaṉ who invaded and occupied Kāñchi was a Pāṇḍya ruler.[32] Dr. N. Venkataramanayya also believes that the above mentioned leader was a Pāṇḍyaṉ chief.[33] Who was this Bhuvaṇēka Vīra Śamara Kōlāhalaṉ? Was he a member of the ancient Pāṇḍyaṉ royal family from Madura? What led to his invasion and occupation of Kāñchi in A. D. 1469? The record which mentions about this conquest of Kāñchi comes from the Ekāmbaranātha temple at Kāñchi dated 19th October

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[31] Further Sources. Vol. I. p. 122.

[32] Mys. Gaz. p. 1604.

[33] F. S. Vol. I. p. 128.

1469.[34] It registers the gift of two villages called Bhuvanikavasanallūr and Śamarakōlāhalanallūr in the Pāṇḍya country as dēvadāṇa villages to God Ekāmbaranātha. Another inscription from the same temple mentions that Kāñchi came under the rule of Bhuvaṇēka Vira Śamarakōlāhalan.[35] From the information supplied by these two inscriptions we are unable to identify him properly and so we have to seek other evidences to find out his identity and his achievements. This question leads us to probe into the early arrangements made by the rulers of Vijayanagar for the administration of the Pāṇḍya country around the city of Madura.

We know for certain that Kumāra Kampaṇā conquered the region of Madura in A. D. 1371, from the Sulṭān of Madura and not from the Pāṇḍyas.[36] The theory upheld by Father Heras that Kumāra Kampaṇā recognised one Śōmasēkhara Pāṇḍya as his subordinate is merely a myth.[37] Because, the name Śōmasēkhara Pāṇḍya is unknown to the list of the Pāṇḍyaṇ genealogy supplied by inscriptions. The Pāṇḍyas, even before this date, had quitted the city of Madura and were ruling over the southernmost part of the Tamiḻ country with Teṇkāśi as their capital. Further, we have the evidence of the 'Maduraittalavaralāṟu' which mentions that from A. D. 1371 to 1402, Kampaṇā, his son Empaṇā and his nephew (or son-in-law) Porkāsa Uḍiyār ruled Madura for a period of thirty-three years from Virōdhikirtu to Chitrabāṇu. During their days they made plenty of gifts to the Śivā and Vishṇu temples at Madura and the surrounding places. From Subhāṇu to Vibhava (1403 to 48) Lakkaṇa Nāyakkar and Mādaṇa Nāyakkar ruled over Madura for a period of 47 years.[38] Epigraphical evidences also prove that Lakkaṇa Daṇṇāyaka and his brother Mādaṇa were the governors of the Tamiḻ country during the reign of Dēvarāya II (1422–1446). A record from Tīrtāmalai (Salem district). mentions that Lakkaṇa was the Mahāpradhāṇi of Dēvarāya II in A. D. 1428.[39] In A. D. 1440, Lakkaṇa 'the Lord of the Southern Ocean' ordered one Dēvaṇṇa Nāyaka to make a gift of a village to the Śivā temple at Āḍuturai (Tanjore Dt.).[40] Mādaṇa Uḍaiyār, the younger brother of Lakkaṇa is mentioned in an inscription dated A. D. 1438.[41] An inscription from the Raṅganātha temple at Sriraṅgam. dated A. D. 1446 also mentions Māḍaṇa Daṇṇāyaka.[42] A Kaḍagattūr (Coimbatore Dt.) record mentions that Mādaṇa was governing the Tamiḻ country in A.D. 1440.[43] So, the information supplied by the Maduraittalavaralāṟu that Lakkaṇa and Mādaṇa were the governors of the Tamiḻ country is corroborated by inscriptional evidences.

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[34] S. I. I. Vol. 4. No. 348.

[35] Ibid. No. 349.

[36] See ante. chapter 3.

[37] Fr. Heras. The Āraviḍu Dynasty. p. 106.

But we have no clear information about the history of the Madura region after A. D. 1448 owing to the conflicting evidences of the apocryphal chronicles such as the Maduraittalavaralāṟu and the Śthāṇikar varalāṟu. These two chronicles mention that Lakkaṇa Daṇṇāyaka brought out of retirement the descendants of a Pāṇḍyaṇ ruler by a concubine, one Abhirāmi, a dancing girl of Kāḷaiyārkōvil. While the former chronicle mentions that they were four in number, the latter says they were six. The Maduraittalavaralāṟu gives the name of the person who was recognised by Lakkaṇa Daṇṇāyaka as the governor of Madura. He was called Śundarattōḷ Māvalivāṇādhirāya.[44] Who was this person that was recognised by Lakkaṇa Daṇṇāyaka as a subordinate chieftain of Madura during the reign of Dēvarāya II? From his name, we can arrive at the conclusion that he was a Bāṇā chieftain. Other members of this Bāṇā family were Kāḷaiyār Śōmanār Añjataperumāḷ and Muttarasar Tirumalaivāṇadirāyar.[45] From their names, it is evident that they belonged to the Bāṇā royal family and they were not Pāṇḍyas. The Pāṇḍyaṇ chronicle mentions that they were illegitimately connected with the old Pāṇḍya royal family. In fact they did not belong to the Pāṇḍya royal family but they were members of the Bāṇā family of chieftains.

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[38] R. Sathinathaier. The Nāyaks of Madura. p. 375.

[39] No. 666 of 1905.

[40] 26 of 1913.

[41] No. 141 of 1903 from Pirānmalai (Ramnad Dt.).

[42] No. 33 of 1919

[43] 196 of 1910.

Who were the Bāṇās?

How did the Bāṇās come to settle in the Pāṇḍya country? From where and how did they migrate and seize power from the Pāṇḍya rulers are interesting problems in the history of South India. Though these Bāṇās had a comparatively long history in South India, yet they never rose to the position of an imperial power and their history is a remarkable example of what is known as 'dynastic drift' in Indian history.[46] The Bāṇās traced their descent from Mahābali who was a mythological and legendary figure. They were a tribe of people living in a comparatively small area in the southern reaches of the Deccan, namely, the region of Pudoli consisting of the Chintāmaṇi, Srinivāspūr, Mulbāgal and Kōlār taluks of the present Karnāṭaka state. Their territory appears to have extended in the east as far as the Sriparvata hills in the Kurnool district and in the south-east as far as western part of the Chittoor district.[47] Their early history in this region is very obscure. Subsequently, the Bāṇās seem to have occupied the western part of the present Chittoor district and the north-western part of the North Arcot district. This territory was usually referred to as Perumbāṇāppāḍi in the Tamiḻ inscriptions.[48]

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[44] Dr. T. V Mahalingam. J. I. H. Vol. 29 p. 300.

[45] Ibid.

[46] K. A. N. Sastri. Cōḷas. Vol. I. p. 151 and
Dr. T. V. Mahalingam. Op. cit., p. 154.

The Bāṇās appear to have been originally the feudatories of the Śatavāhaṇās and after the fall of the Śatavāhaṇa empire they seem to have transferred their allegiance to the Pallavas of Kāñchi. Then, they came under the suzerainty of the Chāḷukyās of Vātāpi and then again under the Pallavas and the Rāṣhtrakūṭās.[49] At the beginning of the 10th century A. D. the great Chōḷa king Parāntāka I brought the Bāṇā territory within his dominions. Then, it seems the drift of the Bāṇās from their original habitat, began. A branch of the Bāṇās sought their fortune in the Telugu country in Guntūr district. Another branch migrated, apparently, to the banks of the southern Peṇṇār and founded a new home called the Vāṇagōpāḍi.[50] It was also known as Magadaimaṇḍalam or Magararājyam. This territory consisted of parts of the South Arcot, Salem and Tiruchirappaḷḷi districts. The capital of Magadaimaṇḍalam was Aragalūr which is identified with Arakal, a village situated on the boundary between South Arcot and Salem districts.[51]

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[47] J. I. H. Ibid. p. 155–56.

[48] Ibid.

[49] Ibid. pp. 161–165.

[50] I. A. Vol. 43 p. 32.

[51] J. I. H. Ibid, pp. 290–91.

From the time the Bāṇās settled in Magadaimaṇḍalam, they became the loyal feudatories of the imperial Chōḻas such as, Rājarāja the great (985–1014), Rājendra Gaṅgaikoṇḍa and his successors. Two inscriptions from Jambai (S.A. Dt.) during the reign of Rājarāja the great, mention a Bāṇā chieftain by name Maṟavaṉ Narasiṃhavarmaṉ alias Rājarāja Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ.[52] During the reign of Kulōttuṅga III, we hear about a famous Bāṇā chieftain by name Poṉparppināṉ Vaṇakōvaraiyaṉ whose victories over the Pāṇḍyas are mentioned in several inscriptions from Tiruvaṇṇāmalai.[53]

With the decline of the Chōḷa power and the revival of the Pāṇḍyaṉ imperialism in the early 13th century, the Bāṇās changed their masters, accepted the overlordship of the Pāṇḍyas, held offices under them and bore their titles and names.[54] A number of inscriptions of the Bāṇās belonging to the 14th century are found in the Pududkōṭṭai and Madurai regions. A Bāṇā chieftain was living at Vāṇādhirāyaṉkōṭṭai and employed Kaḷḷar soldiers in his wars against the Veḷḷāḷās of Kōnāḍu.[55] The titles such as Śundara Pāṇdya Vāṇādhirāyar and Vīra Pāṇḍya Vāṇādhirāyar assumed by the Bāṇā chieftains prove their subordination to the Pāṇḍyas.[56] During the reign of Jaṭāvarmaṉ Vīra Pāṇḍya, a Māvali Vāṇādhirāya is said to have conquered Maṟavaṉmadurai (Māṇāmadura) from one Tirukkoḍuṅguṉṟa Nāḍālvāṉ.[57] Therefore, the Bāṇās settled in the Pāṇḍya country during the 13th and 14th centuries and became the feudatories of the Pāṇḍyas.

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[52], M. E. R. 1907. paragraph. 46.

[53]. S. I. I. Vol. 8. No. 148.

[54]. J. I. H. Ibid. p. 299.

[55]. K. R. Venkatarama Iyer. A Manual of Pudukkōṭṭai State. Vol. II. p. 728.

[56]. P. S. I. Nos. 467 and 624.

[57]. Ibid No. 380.

With the decline of the Pāṇḍyas and their migration to the Teṉkāsi region during the period of the Sulṭānate of Madura, the Bāṇā chieftains came under the Muslim rule and then under Vijayanagar during the time of Kumāra Kampaṇā. From A. D. 1371 till the time of Lakkaṇa Daṇḍanāyaka, the Bāṇās accepted the sovereignty of Vijayanagar and were content to be insignificant in their political role.

Therefore, the chieftain Śundarattōḷ Mahābali Vāṇādhirāyar, who was recognised by Lakkaṇa Daṇḍanāyaka, was a member of the Bāṇā royal family and it was one of his descendants who became prominent during the reigns of Mallikārjuṇa and Virupāksha (1447 – 1485). This period witnessed the internal rebellion, external aggression by the Oḍḍiyaṉs and the rise of Śāluva Narasimha to power. Taking advantage of the weakness of Virupāksha, the Bāṇā chieftain, Bhuvanēkavīra Śamarakōlāhalaṉ seems to have become independent and occupied Kāñchi in A. D. 1469. Two of his inscriptions mention the various titles which Bhuvaṉēkavīra had assumed. In these inscriptions he had invoked the grace of Lord Aḻagar of Aḻagarmalai thus showing that the Bāṇā chieftains had regarded the God at Aḻagarmalai as thier family deity. The first of the records is dated 12th January 1468 and gives the following titles to the donor. Srimaṉ, Mūvarāyakaṇḍaṉ, Rājamīśurakaṇḍaṉ, Śamarakōlāhalaṉ Bhuvaṉēkavīran, Virakañchugaṉ, Vīrapratāpaṉ and Tirumāliruñjolaininṟāṉ Mavalivāṇādhirāyaṉ and mentions that he made an endowment to the Śivā temple at Śevvalūr.[58] The assumption of these titles are very significant and the offer of gifts without any reference to Virupāksha clearly shows that this Bāṇā chieftain overthrew the authority of Virupāksha in the region around Madura. Further, the Bāṇā chieftains of this period claimed to represent the three ancient Tamiḻ royal dynasties of the Chēra, Chōḻa and the Pāṇḍya and adopted the garuda as their emblem.[59] According to another record, a Bāṇā chieftain claimed to have defeated the 'Vaḍugar' forces and to have instilled fear in the minds of the people who lived in the territories of the Vaḍugars. The term Vaḍugar evidently refers to the Vijayanagar forces. From the Pudukkōttai state inscripions we are able to infer a gap in the Vijayanagar records from A. D. 1462 to 1475. During these thirteen years no inscriptions of the Vijayanagar rulers are available in that region. It was only after 1475 that one Pratāpadēvarāya, the son of Mallikārjuṇa is mentioned as governing the region. An inscription mentioning Virupāksha as the emperor is available only in A. D. 1476.[61] What is the significance of this gap in the Pudukdōṭṭai inscriptions? It may refer to the overthrow of Vijayanagar rule by the Bāṇā chieftain mentioned above and the assumption of royal titles as had been referred to. The defeat of the 'Vaḍugars' resulted in the assuption of independence by the Bāṇā chieftain and his occupation of Kāñchi. So, Bhuvanēkavīran Śamarakōlahalaṇ was a Bāṇā chieftain who overthrew Vijayanagar rule in the Madura region and became independent.

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[58] P. S. I. No. 671.

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[59] P. S. I. No. 674.

சென்னி புலிக்கொடியும் தென்னன் கயற்கொடியும்
மின்னும் கழல் பிறையோன் விற்கொடியும்
மன்னும் வரிசை கொடைத் திருமால் மாவலி
வாணாதிராயன்
கருடக் கொடியும் கொடியே காண்

[60] P. S. I. No. 676.

[61] P. S. I. No. 715.

When did he occupy Kāñchi and for how long a time?

The record from the Ekāmbaranātha temple at Kāñchi is dated Saka 1391 Virōdhi, 20th Ippaśi, which is a correct date and is equivalent to 19th October 1469. It mentions the gift of two villages in the Pāṇḍya country as devadāṇa gift to God Ekāmbaranātha by the Bāṇā ruler. It confirms the fact that Kāñchi was occupied by him before 19th October 1469. An inscription from Śevvalūr dated 12th January 1468, mentions that he assumed independent titles and overthrew Vijayanagar rule in the Tamiḻ country. It is this victory over the Vijayanagar forces and his declaration of independence that enabled him to march as far as Kāñchi in the north. Therefore, the Bāṇā occupation of Kāñchi might have taken place some time between 12th January and 19th October 1469.

But, the Bāṇā occupation of Kāñchi did not prove to be a permanent one. Within two years, Vijayanagar authority seems to have been re-established at Kāñchi. An inscription from the Aruḷāḷapperumāḷ temple at Kāñchi dated 20th January 1471 mentions the rule of Virupāksha.[62] Subsequently also, Virupāksha's rule in the Kāñchi region is proved by epigraphical evidences dated January 1472.[63] Now, who was responsible for driving out the Bāṇā leader Śamarkōlāhalaṉ from Kāñchi? It must be Śāḷuva Narasimha who defeated him and captured the city of Kāñchi. We find the rehabilitation of the Tamiḻ country by Śāḷuva Narasimha and his agents subsequent to A. D. 1469 mentioned in the inscriptions of the period. An inscription from Srimushṇam dated December 1470 registers a gift of land to the Śiva temple during the reign of Virupāksha.[64] A record from

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[62] S. I. I. Vol. 4. No. 362.

[63] Nos. 9 of 1911 and 613 of 1919.

[64] 269 of 1916.

Tiruveṇṇainallūr (S. A. Dt.) dated A. D. 1471 mentions that Śāḷuva Narasimha and his agent Aṇṇamarāssayya made a gift of taxes for the mid-day service in the temple. Śāḷuva Narasimha is mentioned as a Mahārāja which shows his supreme position in the politics of Vijayanagar during this period.[65] From Villiyaṇūr (Pondicherry) comes a record dated A. D. 1472 and it mentions a private gift of land to the local temple for the merit of Śāḷuva Narasimha.[66] What are we to infer from the existence of these records? The obvious inference is that the Bāṇā forces which marched towards and occupied Kāñchi in 1469 were driven out of that city by Śāḷuva Narasimha very soon after their occupation

(c) *Part played by Śāluva Narasimha in the Tamiḻ country*:

In reconquering the Tamiḻ country from the Oḍḍiyaṇs and from the Bāṇās, Śāḷuva Narasimha, the governor of Chandragiri during the reign of Virupāksha, seems to have played an important part. This Śāḷuva Narasimha was a descendant of Śāḷuva Maṅgu who was one of the officers of Kumāra Kampṇā. The Rāmābhyūdayam, the Jaimiṇi Bhāratamu and the Śāḷuvabhyūdayam mention the ancestry and achievements of Śāḷuva Narasimha. The Śāḷuvābhyūdayam written by Rājanātha Diṇḍima mentions that Narasimha was born to his parents Guṇḍa III and Mallāmbika by the grace of Lord Narasimha of Ahōbalam.[67] The several stages in the early life of Śāḷuva Naraśimha are obscure. He seems to have been appointed the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara of the Chandragiri-rajya about A. D 1452 during the reign of Mallikārjuṇā. An inscription from Nagar (Chingleput Dt.) dated A. D. 1452 mentions that Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Mēdiṇiśuragaṇḍa Narasiṃhadēva was the Vijayanagar viceroy in that part of the Tamiḻ country.[68] According to Nuniz Śāḷuva Narasimha ruled for forty-four years and at his death left the kingdom in peace and he regained all the lands which his predecessors had lost.[69] Was he the emperor of Vijāyaṇagar throughout this period? As we have already noted, the earliest of the inscriptions which mentions Śāḷuva Narasimha in the Tamiḻ country is dated A. D. 1452. According to a scholar in this field, the last known date of Śāḷuva Narasimha is A.D. 1492.[70] Therefore, Narasimha's activities extended for forty years from 1452 to 1492. Out of these forty years he seems to have been the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara of Chandragiri from 1452 to 1485 till his usuṟpation of royal power. Then, he was the emperor of Vijayanagar after Virupāksha for seven years till A. D. 1492.

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[65] 461 of 1921.

[66] 188 of 1902.

[67] Sources p. 90.

(Narasimha's governorship of the Tamiḻ country was a crucial period in the history of Vijayanagar. It coincided with the weak rule of Mallikārjuṇa and Virupāksha which brought about the Gajapati occupation of Tirukkōyilūr and its neighbour-hood and the Bāṇā invasion of Kāñchi. It was also the period when Kāñchi was raided by Muhammad III, the Bahmini Sulṭān. The authority of the Central government continued to decline and total disruption was prevented by the initiative of a few powerful provincial governors. The most important of them was Śāḷuva Narasimha of Chandragiri.)

The first and foremost achievement of Śāḷuva Narasimha was his reconquest of the Tāmiḻ country from the Oḍḍiyaṇs

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68. No. 295 of 1910.

69. F. E. p. 307,

70. Dr. O. Ramachandrayya. Studies. p. 9.

who occupied the present South Arcot district in A. D. 1463. With the help of his officers and his strong army Narasimha seems to have driven the Oḍḍiyaṉ forces from the Tamiḻ country. The Śāluvabhyūdayam mentions that his ministers advised him not only to drive the Oḍḍiyaṉs but also to bring the whole of the eastern coast upto the river Krishṇa under his rule and to occupy Udayagiri,[71] The help which Śāḷuva Narasimha got from his feudatories and his officers in driving out the Oḍḍiyaṉs and the Bāṇā invader, is referred to in Telugu literary works and in inscriptions. The Jaimiṇi Bhāratamu says that Narāsimha conquered the Tigula Bhūmi (Tamiḻ country) and deprived the Oḍḍiya who invaded his kingdom of his strength, and captured the fort of Bāladurgam,[72] (Udayagiri). Mr Krishṇa Sastri thinks that Nāgama Nāyaka, Āravītti Bukka and Iśvara Nāyaka Tuḷuva were the foremost officers of Śāḷuva Narasimha in his attempt to maintain the integrity of the Vijayanagar empire.[73]

A record from Tirukkachūr (Chingleput Dt.) mentions that Nāgama Nāyaka was the foremost servant of Narasiṅga rāya.[74] Āravītti Bukka was also one of his important generals and officers.[75] An inscription from Tiruvoṟṟiyūr dated 1463 mentions Iśvara Nāyaka Tuḷuva as the agent of Śāḷuva Narasimha.[76] It became the bounden duty of Narasimha to drive out the Oḍḍiyaṉ forces and he seems to have achieved it with the help of the above mentioned officers. After worshipping the Lord at Tirupati, Śāḷuva Narāsimha started on his campaign against Hamvīradēva of Orissa and besieged Udayagiri about A. D. 1469. Udayagiri was conquered from the Gajapati and thus the region from Udayagiri in the north to Chandragiri in the south was cleared of the foreign invaders. While Narasimha was in the northern part of the empire with his army, the Bāṇā ruler Śamarakōlāhalaṉ seems to have marched towards Kāñchi and occupied the city for some time.

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[71] Sources. p. 90.

[72] Ibid.

[73] A. S. R. 1908–9. pp. 164–5.

[74] 318 of 1909.

[75] Sources. p. 8.

[76] 244 of 1912.

After the conquest of Udayagiri, Narasimha seems to have proceeded southwards. The Śāḷuvabhyūdayam mentions that he marched against a Chōḻa king who rebelled against the authority of Vijayanagar.[77] Who was this Chōḻa ruler who rose against Virupāksha and Śāḷuva Narasimha? Dr. Venkataramanayya thinks that very little is known about the identity of the Chōḻa king or the cause of Narasimha's attack against him. But he ventured to suggest that a Chōḻa chief named Kampa opposed Śāḷuva Tirumala who was the governor of the southern part of the Tamiḻ country forming the districts of Tanjore and Trichinopoly.[78] This is unlikely because Kampa was a member of the Telugu Chōḻa family, the subordinate of Śāḷuva Tirumala and it is impossible for him to rise in revolt. The Chōḻa king, referred to in Śāḷuvabhyūdayam seems to be the Bāṇā leader Śamarakōlāhalaṉ because the ancestors of the Bāṇās were natives of the Chōḻa country and then they the migrated to the Pāṇḍya region. The Bāṇās have been mentioned as 'Cevelupōtlu' or 'Lamba-Karṇas' who settled in the northern part of the Pāṇḍyan country. Dr. Venkataramanayya regarded them as a people who could not be identified.[79] These 'Lamba-Karṇas' seem to be the term by which the Bāṇās were called by the Āndhras.

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[77] Sources. p. 91.

[78] F. S. Vol. I. p. 127–28.

[79] Ibid. p. 128.

It has been already pointed out that Bhuvanēkavīraṉ Samarakōlāhalaṉ overthrew Vijayanagar authority, declared himself independent, marched against and occupied Kāñchi while Sāḷuva Narasimha was busy driving out the Gajapati invaders from Orissa. Narasimha seems to have lost no time in marching southwards from Udayagiri against the Bāṇā chieftain. The Sāḷuvabhyūdayam mentions that in his campaigns in the Tamiḻ country, Narasimha visited Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, Tiruviḍaimarudūr, Kumbakōṇam and Sriraṅgam. Then, he crossed the river Kāvēri and encamped on the southern bank of the river.[80]

The Bāṇā leader, *S*amarakōlāhalaṉ was no match for the veteran *S*āḷuva Narasimha. So, the *S*āḷuvabhyūdayam mentions that the Chōḻa king fled away on hearing the approach of the mighty forces of Narasimha. The Jaimiṇi Bhāratamu asserts that the Chōḻa leader fled the country and the Cevelupōtlus or Lambakarṇas were hunted out of it.[81] But, this does not seem to be the truth. Because an inscription dated A. D. 1483 mentions that Bhuvaṉēkavīraṉ *S*amarakōlāhalaṉ, Lord of Madura, destroyer of the Pāṇḍyas, Sundarattōḷ Māvali Vāṇādirāya was ruling over the region around Pudukkōṭṭai.[82] From this, we have to infer that the Bāṇā chieftain was not driven out of the Tamiḻ country. He seems to have acknowledged the Vijayanagar authority after the invasion of *S*āḷuva Narasimha and continued to rule in A. D. 1483. According to the *S*āḷuvabhyūdayam, *S*āḷuva

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80. Sources. p. 91.

81. F. S. p. 128.

82. P. S· I. 672.

Narasimha visited Madura and Rāmēśvaram after his victory over the Bāṇā chieftain.[83]

Was Śāḷuva Narasimha ruling the Tamiḻ country as an independent ruler or was he subject to the power of Virupāksha during the period from 1463 to 1485? From the inscriptions in the Tamiḻ country we are unable to derive any positive conclusion about these questions. Of the 50 inscriptions mentioning Sāḷuva Narasimha during his period 34 are dated before Narasimha became the emperor, fourteen are dated after his assumption of royal power and two are undated. Of the 34 inscriptions which are dated before the Śāḷuva revolution i. e. A. D. 1485, only one mentions Virupāksha as the ruler. The record comes from Villiyaṇūr (Pondicherry) and mentions both king Virupāksha and Śāḷuva Narasimha and it is dated A. D. 1472.[84] All other records make no mention of Virupāksha and they refer to Śāḷuva Narasimha as the de-facto ruler. The officers are referred to as the agents of Śāḷuva Narasimha. What are we to infer from this? Narasimha seems to have formally accepted the sovereignty of Virupāksha without repudiating it. But he had the interest of the empire in his heart and endeavoured to preserve it both from internal rebellion and external agression. He was successful in this tremendous task and so he became the saviour of the Vijayanagar empire during the weak rule of both Mallikārjuṇa and Virupāksha.

After driving out the Oḍḍiaṇs and after quelling the rebellion of the Bāṇā leader, Narasimha seems to have taken up seriously the rehabilitation of the Tamiḻ country. A number of inscriptions mention the benevolent reforms of either Śāḷuva Narasimha or his agents. In A. D. 1469 Narasimha made a gift of land to the Tiruvallam temple near Kāñchi.[85] Fifteen records dated A. D. 1470 to 71 are found in the following places. Tirukkōyilūr. Tiruvāṇḍārkoil, Brahmadēśam, Śeñji, Tiruvadigai, Tiruvāmāttūr, Arakaṇḍanallūr, Neṟkuṇam, Tiruppāḻappandal and Tirunāvalūr all in South Arcot district. The record from Tirukkōyilūr dated A. D. 1471 gives the title of Gaṇḍa Kaṭṭāri Śāḷuva Mahārāja to Narasimha and mentions that the outerwall and tower of the temple which had collapsed as a result of the Oḍḍiyaṉ invasion were caused to be repaired by Aṉṉamarāssayya, the agent of Śāḷuva Narasimha.[86] The Śundarēśvara temple at Śembēḍu, near Señji had been completely destroyed by the invaders and all its wealth plundered. So, the temple was repaired and several new endowments were given by Aṉṉamarāssayya in A. D. 1471.[87] The Vīraṭṭāṇēśvara temple at Tiruvadigai received several endowments from Śāḷuva Narasimha and his agent (Avaśaram) Aṉṉamarāssayya.[88] A record from the Tiruvāmāttūr temple mentions that the temple maṇḍapas and towers were ruined and the irrigation tanks had breached on account of foreign invasions. When the matter was reported to the ruler, he ordered that the necessary repairs should be carried out and worship conducted in the temple in his name in A. D. 1471.[89]

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[83] Sources. Ibid.

[84] 188 of 1902.

From A. D. 1472 to 1477 there was no trouble in the Tamiḻ country and the records during those years mention only the benevolent activities of Narasimha and his subordinates. An inscription from Teṉṉēri (near Kāñchi) dated 4th October A. D. 1474 mentions that one Aṇṇama Nāyakā of Tiryaṉūr renovated the temple of Narasiṅgaperumāḷ at Teṉṉēri.[90] The services rendered by Iśvara Nāyakā, the father of Narasā Nāyakā, to Śāḷuva Nārasimha are mentioned in several inscriptions during this period. In 1478 one Aṟamvaḷartta Nāyanār, the agent of Iśvara Nāyakā rehabilitated the temple at Neṟkuṇam. The people who had deserted the village owing to foreign invasion and famine were encouraged to resettle there and they were given several concessions.[91] This Iśvara Nāyakā seems to have been the commander-in-chief of the forces of Śāḷuva Narāsimha and must have played a prominent part in defeating and driving out of the Tamiḻ country the Oḍḍiyaṉ army and also in defeating the Bāṇā leader. An inscription from the Viraṭṭāneśvara temple at Tiruvaḍigai mentions that Iśvara Nāyakā was the Daḷavāy of Narasiṅgadēva and his agent was Aṟamvaḷartta Nāyanār. This agent introduced certain festivals in the temple, constructed a *Ratha* (car) for the temple and made several other gifts to the temple and for a monastery at Tiruveṉṉainallūr in A. D. 1479.[92] According to the Varāhapurāṇam, Iśvara Nāyakā was in high favour with Śāḷuva Narasimha and was the generalassimo of all his forces.[93]

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[85] 75 of 1900.

[86] 1 of 1905.

[87] 4 of 1919.

[88] 371 of 1921.

[89] 8 of 1922.

[d) *Bahmani raid of Kāñchi. A. D. 1481:*

The victories which Śāḷuva Narasimha won over the enemies of Vijayanagar made him a respectable leader and his fame reached the four corners of the Vijayanagar empire. He was the undisputed master of the eastern part of the empire extending from Rāmēśvaram to Rājamahēndri, This pre-eminent position of Śāḷuva Narasimha was not liked by the Bahmani Sulṯāns who were only waiting for an opportunity to destroy the empire. The weakness of the puppet emperor Virupāksha was a golden opportunity for the Sulṯāns of Bahmani. But they dared not to invade Vijayanagar since they were afraid of Śāluva Narasimha and his strong army. Ferishta says, "Nursing Ray was a powerful rāja possessing the country between the Carnātic and Tulingana extending along the sea-coast to Muchlyputtun (Masulipatam) and had added much of the Beejanuggur territory to his own by conquest together with several strong forts."[94] Taba-Tāba regarded him as one who, owing to his numerous army and the extent of his dominions was the greatest and most powerful of all the rulers of Vijayanagar. "In the neighbourhood of Rājamahēndri the infidel Narasimha Rāya with 70,000 cursed infantry and 500 elephants like mountains of iron had taken his stand."[95] From these two accounts of the Muslim historians we have to believe that the Vijayanagar empire extended as far as Rājamahēndri in the north during the time of Śāḷuva Narasimha.

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[90] 224 of 1922.

[91] 208 of 1935.

[92] 408 of 1921.

[93] Sources Nos. 87 & 88.

The contemporary Bahmani Sulṯān was Muhammad III (II according to some scholars) who ruled from 1463 to 1482. He was the son of Humayun the cruel and became the Sulṯān when he was only nine years old. A council of regency consisting of the Queen mother, Khawaja Jahan and Mahmud Gawan carried on the administration till Muhammad attained the age of fifteen. About A. D. 1470 certain developments in the Kṛishṇa-Gōdāvari delta brought about a triangular struggle between the three great powers of the Deccan, viz., the Sulṯān of Bahmani Muhammad Shah III, Purushōttama Gajapati, the successor of Kapilēśvara Gajapati of Orissa and Śāḷuva Narasimha of Vijayanagar. After the death of Kapilēśvara Gajapati, there occurred a civil war in Orissa between two of his sons, Hamvīra and Purushōttama.[96] Hamvīr Rāy whom Ferishta calls Ambur Rāy appealed to the Bahmani Sulṭān, Muhammad III against his brother Purushōttama who was called by Ferishta as Maṅgaḷ Rāy. Hamvīra seems to hāve promised the Sulṭān that he would not only give Teliṅgāṇa which Kapilēśvara had conquered from the Sulṭān but all the territory between the rivers Kṛishṇa and Gōdāvari in which were situated the famous fortresses of Rājamahēndri and Koṇḍavīdu.[97] Muhammad III seized this opportunity of extending his Sulṭānate as far as the Bay of Bengal in the east, commanded one Malik Hasan Bahry, the ancestor of the Sulṭāns of Ahmadnagar, to proceed to Orissa with a large army and help Hamvīra against Purushōttama. Malik Hasan Bahry was successful in this venture and the territory between the Kṛishṇa and the Gōdāvari came under the rule of the Bahmani Sulṭān. The Sulṭān conferred on him the title of Nizam-ul-Mulk and appointed him Governor of that region with Rājamahēndri as headquarters.[98] This acquisition of the Kṛishṇa-Gōdāvari delta by the Bahmani ruler was indeed a serious threat to the existence of the Vijayanagar empire. If the Sulṭān was allowed to possess that fertile area, he would not hesitate to conquer the territories south of the river Kṛishṇa as he actually did later on. Therefore, in his own interest and that of the empire, it became necessary for Śāḷuva Narasimha to take part in the Orissa civil war. It seems that he helped Purushōttama Gajapati against Hamvīra and the Sulṭān Muhammad III. The Kṛishṇa-Gōdāvari delta became the cock-pit of these great powers in about A. D. 1477.

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[94] Briggs. Ferishta. Vol. II. pp. 498 & 499,

[95] Burhani-ma'asir. I. A. Vol. 28. p. 257.

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[96] Briggs. Ferishta. Vol. II. p. 487.

[97] F. S. Vol. I. p. 132.

[98] Ibid. p. 133.

So, soon after the quelling of the Bāṅā revolt in the Tamiḻ country, Śāḷuva Narasimha had to take part in the war of succession among the rival claimants to the Orissan throne. This explains the presence of Narasimha and his army in the region between the Kṛishṇa and the Gōdāvari. Since he actively supported Purushōttama Gajapati against Muhammad III, Narasimha seems to have induced the people of Koṇḍavīḍu to rise against the Muslim rule. Ferishta observes, "Narasimha frequently excited the zamindars on the Bahmani frontier to rebel; the officers on the border, unable to control his power, had more than once represented his conduct to the Sulṭān."[99] Owing to the influence of Śāluva Narasimha a reconciliation between the rival claimants to the Orissan throne, Purushōttama and Hamvīra, seems to have been brought about. The Bahmani army which was stationed at Koṇḍavīḍu mutinied and murdered their governor. Hamvīra, who had been formerly supported by Muhammad III now joined with Purushōttama and Śāḷuva Narasimha.[100] The activities of Hamvīra, Purushōttama and Narasimha in the Kṛishṇa-Gōdāvari dōāb was a direct challenge to the authority of Muhammad III. Therefore, the Sulṭān hastened with a formidable army to Rājamahēndri. It was then, according to the Burhani-Ma'asir, that the Sulṭān found the "infidel Narasimha with 70,000 cursed infantry and with 500 elephants like mountains of iron." Further, on the side of the river Gōdāvari he had dug a deep ditch on the edge of which he had built a wall like the rampart of Alexander and filled it with cannon and all the apparatus of war.[101]

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[99] Briggs. Ibid. p. 499.

[100] F. S. Ibid. p. 134.

[101] I. A. Vol. 28. p. 288.

With all these preparations and precautions the Vijayanagar army under Narasimha was said to have fled precipitately without giving the Sulṭān a chance to fight.[102] The author of the Burhani-Ma'asir says that Śāḷuva Narasimha abandoned his fortified camp and retired to the south. Rājamahēndri was occupied by the Bahmani forces and the Sulṭān re-established his authority in the region between the Kṛishṇa and the Gōdāvari. This seems to be an amazing story but we have no evidences to maintain that the Vijayanagar forces were not defeated. The re-occupation of Rājamahēndri and the subsequent conquest of Koṇḍaviḍu seem to have encouraged the Sulṭān to invade the Tamiḻ country and march as far as Kāñchi. There are two different versions of the invasion and plunder of Kāñchi given by the two Muslim historians Ferishta and the author of the Burhani-Ma'asir. According to Ferishta, Muhammad III arrived at Koṇḍapaḻḻi and was informed by the people there, that at a distance of ten days journey was the temple of Kāñchi the walls and roofs of which were covered with plates of gold and adorned with precious stones. But no Muslim ruler had ever seen or plundered it. Planning to invade such a wonderful place Muhammad selected six thousand of his best cavalry and proceeded with hurricane speed towards Kāñchi. He marched so rapidly that only forty troopers kept up with him. On approaching the city of Kāñchi, Muhammad was attacked by infidels who swarmed like bees. But nothing could prevent the Muslim army from easily slaughtering them and plundering the temple there. An immense booty fell to the share of the victors who took away nothing but gold, jewels and silver which were abundant.[103]

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[102] F. S. p. 136.

[103] Briggs. Op. cit. pp. 500–1.

Taba-Tāba gives a slightly different but a more reliable account of the Bahmani raid of Kāñchi. In A. H. 885 (A.D. 1480) Muhammad III was informed that the people of Koṇḍavīḍu had risen in revolt by the inducement of Śāḷuva Narasimha. The revolt was put down and the subjects were pardoned. The Sulṭān was then informed by his officers that the extensive plains south of Koṇḍavīḍu could be easily conquered by him; since Narasimha had not paid tribute for a long time his country must be conquered. Therefore, the Sulṭān started from Koṇḍavīḍu and advanced about forty farasangs (136 miles) into the country of Narasiṅga and arrived at a place called Mālūr. When Narasiṅga got information of this, he took to flight without giving battle. He used to pass each day in a house and each night in somē jungle. Then the Sulṭān was said to have written a threatening letter to Narasiṅga who promised obedience and submission.[104]

Then the Sulṭān heard that at a distance of 50 farasangs (170 miles) was the city of Kāñchi situated in the centre of Narasimha's dominions containing temples which were the wonder of the age filled with plenty of concealed treasure, jewels and valuable pearls, besides innumerable beautiful slave girls. From the rise of Islam upto that time no mussalman ruler had set foot in it. On hearing this the Sulṭān marched with 10,000 horses and after travelling for two days and two nights arrived at Kāñchi on 12th March 1481 A. D. The Muslim army surrounded the city of Sinners. (Kāñchi).[105]

From these two accounts we can note that the two Muslim historians do not agree with each other as regards the causes and course of the expedition to Kāñchi. Ferishta attributes it to Muhammad III's desire to punish Śāḷuva Narasimha for fomenting rebellion among the subjects on the southern frontier of the Bahmani Sulṭānate. But Taba-Tāba mentions that the cause of the expedition to Kāñchi was the determination of Muhammad Shāh to destroy idolatry and to chastise the infidel Narasimha who had not paid tribute and presents for a long time.[106] As regards the course of this expedition Ferishta says that Muhammad III started from Koṇḍappaḷḷi whereas the author of the Burhani-Ma'asir mentions that he led his army from Koṇḍavīḍu. Nizam-ud-din Ahmed, the author of Tabaqati-Akbari says that the Sulṭān started from his capital and reached Teleṅgāna by successive marches. He invested the fort of Gōlkoṇḍa and captured it. Then he proceeded towards the sea and conquered some of the ports belonging to Śāḷuva Narasimha. While he was preparing to return to his capital he was told that there was in the country of Tilāṅg a wealthy city called Kāñchi with a big temple at a distance of 10 days journey from Nelwāra (Nellore). On hearing this information Muhammad Shāh marched towards Kāñchi for plundering the temple and the city.[107]

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[104] I. A. Ibid. p. 289.

[105]. Ibid.

Thus, there is considerable uncertainty about the place from which Muhammad III started on his expedition to Kāñchi. The statement of Taba-Tāba that Muhammed III started from Koṇḍavīḍu seems to be a possible one. But the route followed by the Muslim army is uncertain since the identification of the place called Mālūr is an unsolved problem. The Bahmani Sulṭān was said to have advanced forty farasangs (136 miles) into the territory of Narasimha and came within sight of the fortress of Mālūr which was the greatest fort of that country and encamped there.[108] Where is this Mālūr? Major King, the translator of Burhani-Ma'asir had indentified this place with Mālūr, in the Kōlār district of the Karnāṭaka state. (Mysore). Dr. S. K. Iyengar had accepted this identification and observed, "The successful occupation of Mālūr and the raid on Kāñchi indicate clearly the incapacity of the central administration at Vijayanagar under Virupaksha."[109] But, Dr. Venkataramanayya rejects this identification and points out that Mālūr must be Nellore in Andhra State. He puts forward the following arguments for strengthening his contention.

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[106] K. V. R. M. Volume. p. 307.

[107] Ibid. p. 309.

(1) In the Burhani-Ma'asir Mālūr is said to have been situated at a distance of 136 miles from Koṇḍavīḍu and 170 miles from Kāñchi. But the actual distance between Mālūr and Kāñchi is only a hundred and twenty miles.

(2) The Bahmani army under Muhammad III only passed through the territory held by Śāḷuva Narasimha along the eastern coast and therefore Mālūr must be a place in the coastal region.

(3) Nizamuddin Ahmed, the author of Tabaqati-Akbari mentions that the Muslim army passed through a place called Nelwara which was at a distance of ten days journey from Kāñchi.

(4) This Nelwāra must refer to Nellore which is an important town with an old fort included in the province of Udayagiri which was then under the rule of Śāḷuva Narasimha.

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[108] I. A. Vol. 28. p. 29.

[109] A little known chapter. p. 39.

(5) The route from Koṇḍaviḍu to Kāñchi through Mālūr in Mysore state is a circuitous one and Muhammad Shah who wanted to plunder Kāñchi as quickly as possible would not have chosen a tedious and circuitous route through Mālūr in Kōlār district.[110] Therefore, Mālūr fort mentioned in Burhani-Ma'asir must refer to Nellore and Kāñchi is only 120 miles as the crow flies. This identification of Mālūr with Nellore seems to be a reasonable one and Muhammad III seems to have marched through Nellore towards Kāñchi. Muhammad's invasion and plunder of Kāñchi seems to be a historical fact since two Muslim historians, Ferishta and Taba-Tāba describe them with great religious enthusiasm. But we do not know which was the temple which was plundered by the Muslims whether it was the Ēkāmbaranātha temple or the Aruḷāḷapperumāḷ temple. It must be one of these temples that had been plundered by the Muslims since the booty which they got was immense. But there are no epigraphical evidences in the Tamiḻ country to confirm it.

However, Muhammad Shāh was not destined to carry away the wealth of Kāñchi without any mishap. He was intercepted by the Vijayanagar army under Iśvara Nāyakā, the general of Śāḷuva Narasimha at Kaṇḍukūr and was forced to part with all that he had acquired at Kāñchi. The Varāhapurāṇam mentions that Iśvara Nāyakā at the command of his master, Śāḷuva Narasimha fell upon the Muslim cavalry at Kaṇḍukūr, defeated them completely and plundered their camp.[111] This information is supported by the evidence of the Pārijātapaharaṇamu which mentions that Iśvara Nāyakā caused the blood of the Muslim soldiers to run in many streams at the battle of Kaṇḍukūr.[112] Iśvara Nāyakā

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110. K. V. R. M. Vol. p. 311.
111. Sources. p. 89.
112. Ibid. p. 106.

must have accomplished the destruction of the Bahmani forces while Muhammad Shah III was returning from Kāñchi. Though he succeeded in plundering a temple at Kāñchi yet he seems to have suffered defeat and was compelled to surrender the booty. The Muslim historians, Ferishta and Taba-Tāba mention nothing about the defeat suffered by the Bahmani forces at Kaṇḍukūr.

(e) The Śāluva Revolution and its importance:

The Oḍḍiyaṉ Kalābai, the Bāṇā occupation of Kāñchi and the Bahmani invasion of the Tamiḻ country discredited the Śaṅgama rule in the south. It was Śāḷuva Narasimha who saved the Tamiḻ country from foreign invasions and internal rebellions. But for Śāḷuva Narasimha, the Vijayanagar empire would have become a thing of the past. Virupāksha continued to rule until the middle of A. D. 1485 when he was murderded by one of his sons. The parricide, however, refused to ascend the throne, as he regarded himself impure on account of the unpardonable crime he had committed. According to his wish, his younger brother, Padearao was crowned but the new king was worse than his father Virupāksha. His first act was the assassination of his brother. Then he gave himself up to wine and women and became utterly indifferent to the fate of the kingdom.

This unwarranted action of the last worthless ruler of the Śaṅgama dynasty roused Śāḷuva Narasimha to action. He brought about a *coup d'etat* with the help of his general Narasa Nāyaka and assumed royal titles. The date of Śāḷuva Narasimha's assumption of royal powers and the number of years of his rule as the emperor of Vijayanagar are keenly disputed points. Mr. Hayavadana Rao is of opinion that Śāḷuva Narasimha brought about the revolution in A. D. 1485–86 and ruled upto A. D. 1497 as the emperor of Vijayanagar.[1] Dr. O. Ramachandrayya has come to the conclusion that the Śāḷuva revolution must have occurred between July 1485 and November 1486 according to two inscriptions of Virupāksha and Śāḷuva Narasimha respectively.[2]

Śāḷuva Narasimha's aim in usurping the throne was not personal ambition but the perpetuation of the empire.[3] The revolution was the result of the incorrigible weakness and wickedness of Virupāksha and his younger son, highly detrimental to the imperial cause. It was popular and bloodless and was conducive to public and imperial interests.[4] Narasā Nāyakā may be regarded as the master architect of this tremendous change. Dr. O. Ramachandrayya assigns the year A. D. 1491 as the last date of Śāḷuva Narasimha.[5]

But, before he died, Narasimha entrusted his two sons and the empire to Tuḷuva Narasā Nāyakā. Says Nuniz, "At his death he (Śāḷuva Narasimha) left two sons and the governor of the kingdom was Narasā Nāyak who was the father of the king that afterwards was king of Bisnaga; and this king (Narasimha) before he died, sent to call Narasā Nāyak, his minister, and held converse with him telling him that at his death, he would by testament leave him to govern the kingdom until the princes should be of an age to rule .... and the king begged him to keep good guard over the kingdom and to deliver it up to the princes, to whichever of them should prove himself most

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1. Mys. Gaz. p. 1682.
2. Studies on Kṛishṇadēvarāya. p. 1.
3. Ibid.
4. R. Sathinathaier. Vol. II. p. 143.
5. Studies. p. 8.

fitted for it."[6] Narasā Nāyakā loyally executed the will of his master regarding the succession to the throne. Śāḷuva Narasimha's death was followed by the accession of his elder son who was, however, murdered by an enemy of Narasā Nāyakā. Thereupon, the younger prince Immadi Narasimha (Narasimha II) was crowned by Narasā who punished the murderer and became the protector and *defacto* ruler of the Vijayanagar empire.

(f) Narasā Nāyakā in the Tamil country:-

The achievements of Narasā Nāyakā are found described in some of the inscriptions of his sons. An inscription from Nagar in Mysore enumerates the activities of Narasā Nāyakā in glowing terms. "He crossed the Kāvēri, when in full flood and seizing his enemy alive, taking possession of his kingdom and making Srirangapattaṇa his own, he set up the pillar of his fame. and won the praise of the three worlds. Conquering Chēra, Chōḻa, Pāṇḍya and Maṇābhusha, the king of Madura as well as the fierce Turuṣkha, the Gajapati king and others, from Gaṅga to Lāṅka and the eastern to the western mountains, he imposed his commands on all kings.[7] Nandi Timmana, the author of the Pārijātapaharaṇamu, confirms this version of the inscription about the achievements of Narasā Nāyakā. "Narasā, the son of Iśvara manifested his skill by capturing Vijayanagara, so as to cause distress to the king of Kuntaḷa. He defeated and killed the lord of the Chōḻa country and captured the city of Madura and performed the sixteen gifts at Ramaśētu."[8] Rājanātha Diṇḍima, the author of Achyutarāyabhyūdayam, mentions that Narasā Nāyakā destroyed the arrogant Maṟava in battle and captured Madura. He vanquished Konētirāja who fell on him with his herd of elephants and attained victory on the field of battle."[9]

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[6] R. Sewell. Op. cit. p. 308.

[7] E. C. Vol. 8. Nagar 64.

[8] Sources. p. 106.

Here, we are concerned with the conquests of Narasā Nāyakā in the Tamiḻ country only. What led to the invasion of the Tamiḻ country by Narasā Nāyakā and who were the leaders defeated by him and forced to acknowledge Vijayanagar rule? The answers to these problems will throw a flood of light on the history of this period. Though, Śāḷuva Narasimha forced Bhuvanēkavīra Śamara Kōlāhalan, the Bāṇā chieftain, to acknowledge Vijayanagar rule in the region south of the Kāvērī, he seems to have recognised Vijayanágar authority only for a short time. During the troublous pẹriod of the Bahmani invasion of Kāñchi and the Śāḷuva revolution of A. D. 1485–86, tha Baṇā chieftain seems to have overthrown Vijayanagar rule. Further, the Pāṇḍyas of Teṇkāsi had not been brought under Vijayanagar sovereignty so far. One of the Vijayanagar governors in the Tamiḻ country, Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, Kōnēridēva Mahārāja, also rose in revolt against Immadi Narasimha. Therefore, Narasā Nāyakā, as the protector of the empire, had to undertake a Digvijaya in the Tamiḻ country.

Konērirāja of Tanjore and Trichinopoly:

Part of the Tamiḻ country forming the districts of Tanjore and Trichinopoly was ruled over by one Śāḷuva Tirumalayyadēva Mahārāja as a subordinate of Mallikārjuna and Virupāksha. An inscription from Paṭṭiśvaram (Tanjore Dt.) dated A. D. 1450 mentions him as the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara of

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[9] Ibid. p. 109.

Chōlarājyam.[10] Two records from Pāpanāśam near Kumbakōṇam dated A. D. 1452 and 1458 also refer to Śāḷuva Tirumalayya as the governor of the Tamiḻ country. He caused to be constructed the tower in the Paṭṭiśvaram temple and made several gifts and endowments to the Śivā temple at Pāpanāśam.[11] According to the Kōiloḻugu, Śāḷuva Tirumalayya was succeeded by one Kōnērirāja as the governor of Trichinopoly Sīma.[12] There are seven lithic records in the Tamiḻ country mentioning Kōnērirāja. The earliest of these records comes from Shiyali (Tanjore Dt.) dated A. D. 1488 and it mentions that Kōnēridēva gave several sarvamānya villages to the Śivā temple at Shiyali.[13] According to two records from Tirumalavaḍi in Trichy district, Kōnērirāja was the son of one Baśavāsaṅkara and he had the titles of Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara, Paṭṭukkaṭṭāri, Kāñchipuravardēśvara etc.[14] His latest record in the Tamiḻ country is dated Saka 1416 and he seems to have been the governor of a part of the Tamiḻ country till A. D. 1494.[15]. In none of the records mentioned above, Kōnērirāja had recognised either Śaḷuvā Narasimha or Immadi Narasimha as his overlord. Taking advantage of the preoccupations of Śāḷuva Narasimha and Narasā Nāyakā in the northern part of the empire, Kōnērirāja seems to have asserted his independence in the Tamiḻ country. He also seems to have oppressed the Vāishṇavās of Sriraṅgam.

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[10] No. 524 of 1920.

[11] 527 of 1920 and 448 of 1922. This Śāḷuva Tirumalayyadēva was the son of Śāḷuva Gōpa. He founded a town called Tirumalairāyanpaṭṭinam near Kāraikkāl and patronised the Tamiḻ poet Kāḷamēgham.

[12] I. A. Vol. 40. p. 142.

[13] 396 of 1918.

[14] Nos. 49, 51, 54 of 1920.

[15] 74 of 1913.

According to the Kōiloḻugu Kōnērirāja favoured the Śaivites of Tiruvāṉaikka as against the Vaiṣhṇavas of Śriraṅgam and gave away the villages belonging to the temple of Sriraṅgam to one Kōṭṭai Śāmantan Śeṉṉappa Nāyakā. He also collected Puravari, Kāṇikkai, Parivaṭṭam and other taxes which had been remitted by previous rulers. The Vaishṇavas led by Kandāḍai Rāmānuja reported the matter to Narasā Nāyakā and prayed for his help against the tyranny of Kōnērirāja.[16] These causes led to the invasion of the Tamiḻ country by Narasā Nāyakā. An inscription from Varañjaram (S. A. Dt.) dated 18th January 1499 mentions Śvāmi Narasā Nāyakā having started on a Digvijaya in the Tamiḻ country.[17] Kōnērirāja was said to have opposed Narasā Nāyakā with a large elephant force but was defeated and imprisoned. The villages that had been taken away from the Sriraṅgam temple were restored to it. The new impositions were removed and other grievances of the Vaiṣhṇavas were reduced.[18] This Kōnērirāja must be identified with the Chōḻa ruler who is mentioned in the Telugu works Parijātapaharaṇamu and Vardāmbikāpariṇayam. The names Chōḻa and Pāṇḍya were attributed to the governors of the Chōḻa and Pāṇḍya countries in the 15th and 16th centuries irrespective of the royal dynasty to which they belonged.[19]

Who was the Marava defeated by Narasā Nāyakā ?

After dealing with Kōnērirāja, the governor of the Chōḻa country, Narasā Nāyaka crossed the river Kāvēri and marched against the Maṟava ruler who had the city of Madura as his capital. Rājanātha Diṇḍima mentions that Narasā Nāyakā destroyed the arrogant Maṟava in battle and captured Madura.[20] Dr. Venkataramanayya thinks that the terms Chōḷa and Maṟava are identical. But, this is not the fact. The Maṟavas at the present day live in Rāmnād and Madura districts and they belong to the ancient martial classes among the Tamiḻians such as the Kaḷḷas and the Vaṉṉiyas. Generally the warrior classes in the Tamiḻ country were known as the Maṟavas. But a distinction was made between them like the Chōḷa Maṟavas and the Pāṇḍya Maṟavas according to the territory in which they lived. The Bāṇās who had migrated from the Choḷa country and settled in the region around Madura were also known as the Maṟavas. A Bāṇā Prince who had been subordidate to the Chōḷa emperor Rājarāja the Great (985–1014) was called Maṟavaṉ Narasimhavarmaṉ.[21] The Bāṇās who had settled in the Madura and Rāmnād districts seem to have mingled with the Maṟavas of the Pāṇḍya country and their modern representatives are the Maṟavas of the southern part of the Tamiḻ country. It is these Maṟavas who were mentioned as the Lamba Karṇas in the Telugu works of the 15th and 16th centuries.

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[16] I. A. Vol. 40. p. 142.

[17] 190 of 1941.

[18] F. S. P. 171.

[19] Ibid. p. 169. F. N.

We have already seen how the Bāṇā leader Bhuvanēkavīraṉ Ṡamarakōlāhalaṉ became independent during the reign of Mallikārjuṇa and occupied Kāñchi in A. D. 1469. Ṡāḷuva Narasimha drove him out of Kañchi, but his power was not completely destroyed. An inscription dated A. D. 1483 mentions that one Ṡundarattōḷ Māvalivānādhirāya with the prefixes of Ṡamarakōlāhalaṉ, Ṡēthumūlarakshaṉ, Lord of Madura, destroyer of the Pāṇḍyas, lord with the emblem of Garuḍa, was ruling the region south of the river Kāvēri.[22]

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[20] F. S. p. 159 and Sources. p. 108.

[21] J. I. H. Vol. 29. p. 291.

[22] P. S. I. No. 672.

He seems to be the same person as Bhuvanēkavīraṉ Śamarakōlāhalaṉ who defied the authority of Virupāksha and Śāḷuva Narasimha. Either this Bhuvanēkavīraṉ Śamarakōlāhalaṉ or one of his successors is mentioned as the Maṟava ruler with Madura as his capital. Therefore, the 'Maruvapaka' of the Varadāmbikāpariṇayam perhaps refers to the Bāṇā chieftain of Madura. He was neither a Chōḻa nor a Pāṇḍya as supposed by some scholars.[23] After sub-duing Kōnērirāja, the governor of the Chōḻa country, Narasā Nāyakā marched against the Bāṇā ruler of Madura and forced him to acknowledge Vijayanagar authority. Narasā was said to have got valuable presents from the ruler of Madura and then went to Rāmēśvaram by way of Śēthu.[24] It is only after Narasā Nāyakā's expedition to the extreme south of the Tamiḻ country that the inscriptions of the Vijayanagar rulers are found in the region south of Madura. A record from Varichiyūr near Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam, but without date, records a gift for the merit of Narasā Nāyakā to the Śivā temple at that place.[25] Another inscription from Buddhireddipaṭṭi in Tinnevelly district dated A. D. 1501 mentions Narasā Nāyakā and his agent Tipparasa Uḍaiyār.[26]

Date of Narasā Nāyakā's expedition to the Tamiḻ country:

When did Narasā Nāyakā invade the Tamiḻ country? On the basis of epigraphical evidences Dr. O. Ramachandrayya has maintained that Śāḷuva Narasimha died on a day between 14th January and 10th March 1491 A. D.[27] From that date,

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[23] F. S. p. 169.

[24] F. S. p. 159.

[25] No. 39 of 1908.

[26] No. 155 of 1905.

[27] Studies on Kṛiṣhṇadēvarāya. p. 9. 414 of 1929 and V. Rangachari. Vol. II. No. 602.

Narasā Nāyakā was the protector of the Vijayanagar empire. An inscription from Dēvikāpuram mentions a gift of land and a house site in the village of Kailāsa for the merit of Śvāmi Narasā Nāyakā who went to Śivalōka.[28] Another record from Bachahalli in Mysore State dated 13th December A. D. 1503 mentions that a gift was made to the temple when Narasā Nāyakā died.[29] Therefore, Narasā Nāyakā was taking an active part in maintaining the empire from A. D. 1491 to 1503. During the first two years of his position as the regent, Narasā had to safeguard the city of Vijayanagar against the attacks of Yusuf Adil Khān of Bijāpur in A. D. 1493 and the battle of Maṉuvā is said to have taken place in the year.[30] Therefore, Narasā Nāyakā's expedition to the south could have happened only after that date. The inscriptions of Immadi Narasimha in Madura and Rāmnāḍ districts are found dated only after A. D. 1499.[31] Dr. Venkataramanayya gives the evidence of a record dated 18th March 1497 which mentions that one Kachapa Nāyakā of Adavāṇi (Adoni) had gone to Śētubundha Rāmēśvaram with Narasā Nāyakā.[31(a)] Therefore, Dr. Venkataramanayya thinks that the southern campaign of Narasā Nāyakā must have preceded the date of this inscription i. e., A. D. 1496.[32] It would be appropriate to maintain that the record was inscribed when Narasā Nāyakā started on his expedition in A. D. 1497. It is mentioned in the work called Maduraittalavaralāṟu that Narasanāyakkar came to Madura in Piṅgaḷa, Vaikāśi of the Saka 1422, current, captured the fort and offered worship at Rāmēśvaram.[33] The

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[28] 357 of 1912.

[29] E. C. IV. Kṛiṣhṇarājapet. No. 64.

[30] F. S. p. 162.

[31] 69 of 1908.

[31(a)] 719 of 1917.

[32] F. S. p. 168.

[33] The Nāyaks of Madura. p. 375.

Saka year 1422 seems to be a mistake because Piṅgaḷa, Vaikāśi corresponds to Saka 1419. Since the cyclic year and month are clearly mentioned, the date of Narasā's conquest of Madura may be fixed as A. D. 1497 and he may be regarded to have started on this expedition in A. D. 1496.

(g) *Relations between the Pāṇḍyas of Teṉkāśi and the Rāyas of Vijayanagar:*

When Kumāra Kampaṇā invaded and conquered Madura in A. D. 1371, he did not come into contact with any of the Pāṇḍya rulers becaue they were not ruling over the region of Madura during that period. According to inscriptional evidences the Pāṇḍyas completely lost their hold on the Madura country in the second half of the 14th century. They found themselves restricted to the southernmost part of the Tamiḻ country, viz., Tinnevelly district. Prof. K. A. N. Sastri thinks that this change in the fortune of the Pāṇḍyas must have occurred about the time of Kampaṇā's conquest of Madura.[1] We know that from A. D. 1335 to 1371 Madura and the surrounding places were subject to the rule of the Sulṭāns. They would not have allowed the Pāṇḍya rulers within their territory. Therefore, the end of the Pāṇḍya rule in Madura must be regarded to have begun before A. D. 1335. An inscription from Tirukkāḷakkuḍi (Rāmnāḍ Dt.) mentions one Kō-Māṟavarmaṉ Vīrapāṇḍyadēva ruling in his 31st year when Kampaṇā Uḍaiyār came from the north, destroyed the Muslims, appointed several Nāyakars and restored peace and order.[2] If the date of Kampaṇā's conquest of Madura. A. D. 1371 is accepted, then the accession date of this Vīra Pāṇḍya must be A. D. 1340. Therefore, there was a Pāṇḍya ruler in the Rāmnāḍ region in about A. D. 1340 and he seems to have ruled upto A. D. 1380. But we do not know whether this Vīra Pāṇḍya was subject to the authority of Vijayanagar or not. Neither inscriptions nor literary evidences help us to determine this issue. Another Pāṇḍya ruler was ruling in the Tinnevelly district about A. D. 1371 is proved by an inscription from Kōṭṭār near Nāgarkōil. It is a record of the 15th regnal year of one Kō-Jaṭāvarmaṉ Parākrama Pāṇḍya and he seems to have assumed royal power in A. D. 1356.[3] An inscription from Karivalamvandanallūr (Tinnevelly Dt.) dated A. D. 1402 mentions one Jaṭilavarmaṉ Kulaśēkharadēva ruling in his 7th year and he must have assumed royal powers in A. D. 1396.[4] One Māṟavarmaṉ Kulaśēkharadēva ruling in his 14th year is mentioned in an inscription from Teṉkāśi and it is dated Ṣaka 1331 (1409 A. D.). It is stated in the inscription that a temple at Teṉkāśi was restored from the foundation to the pinnacle by King Aḻagaṉ Perumāḷ Kulaśēkhradēva.[5] In the same place another inscription refers to one Jaṭāvarmaṉ Kōṉēriṉmai Koṇḍāṉ Kulaśēkharadēva ruling in his 10th regnal year.[6] In A. D. 1415, certain Parākrama Pāṇḍyadēva was ruling in his 31st year according to a record from Kuttālam (Tinnevelly Dt.).[7] Then, a Jaṭāvarmaṉ Vikrama Pāṇḍya ruled from A.D. 1401 to 1422 and his records are found in Kuttālam and in Tirupputtūr (Rāmnāḍ Dt.).[8]

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[1] The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom. p. 247.

[2] No. 94 of 1916.

But it is not possible, with the available sources of information, to determine which part of the Rāmnāḍ and Tinnevelly regions was ruled over by each of the above mentioned

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[3] V. R. III. Travancore. 5 (30 of 1896).

[4] 270 of 1908.

[5] 528 of 1911.

[6] 530 of 1911.

[7] 203 of 1895.

[8] The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom. p. 248.

Pāṇḍya rulers and whether they ruled conjointly or individually. We have no means of determining their exact sphere of political influence or about the relations between them. There are no inscriptions of the Rāyās of Vijayanagar in the Tinnevelly district dated before A. D. 1499. So, it is quite impossible for research scholars to formulate any definite historical information as to the relations between the Pāṇḍyas of Teṉkāśi and the rulers of Vijayanagar between A. D. 1371 and 1422.

According to the Maduraittalavaralāṟu, the successors of Kumāra Kampaṇā in Madura were his son Kampaṇā and his nephew Prakāśa Uḍaiyār who ruled for thirty one years from 1371 to 1402. From A. D. 1402 to 1448 Lakkaṇa Nāyakkar and Mādaṇa Nāyakkar were the governors of Madura.[9] In A.D. 1452 Lakkaṇa was said to have appionted one Śundarattōḷ Māvalivāṇādirāyar as the governor of Madura subject to the sovereignty of Vijayanagar.[10] This Bāṇā chieftain was also known as Bhuvanēkavīraṉ Śamarakōlāhalaṉ who asserted his independence and occupied Kāñchi in A. D. 1469. It has been maintained previously that either this Śundarattōḷ Mavalivāṇādirāyaṉ or one of his successors ruled upto A. D. 1483. Narasā Nāyakā came to Madura on his Digvijayā in A. D. 1497 and he was said to have defeated the Maṟava ruler of Madura and then went to Rāmēśvaram.[11]

Therefore, from the time of Kumāra Kampaṇā till the expedition of Narasā Nāyakā there was no contact between the Pāṇḍyas of Teṉkāśi and the Rāyās of Vijayanagar. It was the Bāṇā chieftains who became subordinate to Vijayanagar and not the Pāṇdyas. The Bāṇa leaders seem to have defeated and driven out the Pāṇḍyas to the southernmost part of South India beyond Śrīvilliputtūr in Rāmnāḍ district. The Pāṇḍyas suffered defeat at the hands of the Bāṇas and so the latter had assumed the birudus of 'Pāṇḍya Kulāntakās' or the destroyers of the Pāṇḍyas and 'Madurāpurināyakas', or Masters of Madura. The Pāṇḍyarājyam or the southernmost viceroyalty of the Vijayanagar empire in the Tamil̤ country seems to have extended only as far as Srivilliputtur in Rāmnāḍ district. An inscription from that place dated A.D. 1453 mentions that the town was situated in the Bāṇa territory under the rule of the Vāṇādirāyas in Maduraimaṇḍalam.[12] In A. D. 1453 one Uraṅgavillidāśan, a Bāṇa chieftain, was the lord of Maduraimaṇḍalam.[13] In A. D. 1476 and 1477 one Śundarattōḷ Māvalivāṇa, son of Tirumaliruñjōlai Māvalivāṇa is mentioned as the ruler of Maduraimaṇḍalam.[14] Therefore, there was no direct contact between the Pāṇḍyas of Teṇkāśi and the rulers of Vijayanagar before the invasion of Narasā Nāyakā in 1497.

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[9] The Nāyaks of Madura p. 375.

[10] Ibid.

[11] See ante. chapter on Narasā Nāyaka.

Jaṭāvarmaṇ Arikēśari Parākrama Pāṇḍya (A. D. 1422–63):

We have the evidence of epigraphy to prove that from A. D. 1422 to 1463 one Jaṭāvarmaṇ Arikēśari Parākrama Pāṇḍya was ruling over the Pāṇḍya country with Teṇkāśi as his capital. He bore the surnames of Māṇābharaṇa, Māṇakavacha and Arikēśari. His inscriptions are numerous and some of them contain long historical introduction in Tamil̤ beginning with 'Pūmiśaivaṇidai'.[15] He was also known as Poṇṇiṇperumāḷ and his inscriptions in the famous Śivā temple at Teṉkāśi enumerate his victories and other achievements. He claims victories over some of his opponents, whose names are not mentioned, at Śiṅgai, Aṉurai, Iṟasai, Śeṉbai, Vindai, Mudalai and Vaippāṟu.[16] According to the Dāḷavay Agrahāram plates, Parākrama is also said to have defeated the Chēras.[17] Arikēśari was a great scholar in both Tamiḻ and Sanskrit. We know from his inscriptions that he caused to be constructed a Śivā temple at Teṉkāśi because he had a dream in which Lord Śivā appeared and instructed him to build it since His temple at Benares became dilapidated and that a fresh one should be built for Him on the northern bank of the river Chittār.[18]

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[12] P. S. I. 653, 672 and 678.

[13] T. A. S. Vol. I. p. 46

[14] Ibid.

[15] K. A. N. Sastri. Ibid. p. 249.

It took nearly seventeen years for the completion of this majestic temple and it stands even to this day as an important monument for the glory of the Pāṇḍyas of Teṉkāśi. The king's extreme devotion, unbounded piety and sound scholarship are clear from a number of inscriptions in the form of Tamiḻ verses on the walls of this temple. In those beautiful and scholarly verses he had made a moving appeal to his successors to safeguard and extend the temple.[19] He also caused to be excavated a big irrigation tank in the name of Lord Viśvanātha of Teṉkāśi.[20] This Arikēśari Parākrama Pāṇḍya ruled from A. D. 1422 to 1463 for 41 years. An inscription dated Saka 1385 in the Viśvanātha temple at Teṉkāśi mentions that Perumāḷ Māṟaṉ Parākrama alias Parākrama Pāṇḍya died in that year.[21] He was a contemporary of Dēvarāya II and Mallikārjuṉa of the Śaṅgama dynasty.

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16. T. A. S. Nos. 1 – 14. p. 52
17. Ibid. Vol. I. pp. 126 and 133
18. Ibid. pp. 99–100.
19. T. V. S. Pandarattar. Pāṇḍyar Varalāṟu. p. 163.
20. T. A. S. Ibid. p. 51
21. V. R. III. Tinn Nos. 342 and 367.

Was this Arikēśari Parākrama Pāṇḍya a feudatory of Vijayanagar? If so, what are the evidences to prove it? Dr. T. V. Mahalingam is of opinion that this Teṉkāśi Pāṇḍya ruler was a feudatory of Dēvarāya II and he co-operated with the Vijayanagar Daṇaḍnāyaka, Lakkaṇa in the conquest of Ceylon. Arikēśari Parākrama Pandya's victories at Śiṅgai and Aṉurai, the capitals of Jaffna and Ceylon, must refer to his cooperation and help which he gave to Lakkaṇa Daṇḍanāyaka during his expedition against Jaffna since he was subject to Vijayanagar authority. The assumption of the title Dakshiṇaśamudrātipati by Lakkaṇa must be regarded as an evidence for Vijayanagar supremacy over the Pāṇḍya ruler of Teṉkāśi. Therefore, the scholar maintains that Arikēśari Parākrama was a feudatory of Dēvarāya II and his successor.[22]

The assumption of the title of Dakshiṇaśamudrātipati by the rulers of Vijayanagar and their Daṇḍanāyakas is not a valid argument for maintaining the sovereignty of Vijayanagar over the extreme south of the peninsula. In that case we must also maintain that Vijayanagar rule extended as far as the Arctic Ocean since the rulers called themselves as 'Uttaraśamudratipaties'. The title Dashiṇaśamudrātipati was only a hyperbole and it could not be taken in the literal sense. C There are no concrete evidences either literary or epigraphical to prove that Arikēśari Parākrama was a feudatory of Dēvarāya II and that he co-operated with Lakkaṇa Daṇḍanayaka in his invasion of Jaffna. Further, if Arikēśari Parākrama had accepted the sovereignty of Vijayanagar, he would have adopted the style and method of recording his achievements on the model of Vijayanagar inscriptions. But we find that the records of Arikēśari follow the typical Tamiḻ method of recording inscriptions without any reference to Vijayanagar rulers. There are no inscriptions south of Madura mentioning either the Rāyās of Vijayanagar or their governors before A. D. 1499. So, the argument that Arikēśari Parākrama was a feudatory of Dēvarāya II is untenable.

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[22] P. of I. H. C. 1945. p. 201.

Another issue raised by Dr. T. V. Mahalingam is that Arikēśari Parākrama Pāṇḍya was restored by the Vijayanagar rulers to his ancestral territory, Madura, on account of his loyal and devoted service to the empire. "But, soon he became so overconfident of his position and importance that he began to issue coins from his 25th year and set up an independent rule in Madura during the weak and troublous period of Mallikārjuna and Virupāksha."[23] These observations are based on no valid grounds. There is nothing in the inscriptions of either Arikēśari or his contemporary Vijayanagar rulers to make us believe that he was restored to Madura, the home of his ancestors, from Teṉkāśi. There are no numismatical evidences to prove that Arikēśari issued coins showing either his dependence or independence of the Vijayanagar rulers. It was the Bāṇās who were in charge of the Madura region during the period of Mallikārjuṉa and Virupāksha. A Bāṇā chieftain Bhuvanēkaviraṉ became independent and occupied Kāñchi in 1469 and not Arikēśari Parākrama. On the other hand, Arikēśari was so much attached to Teṉkāśi and the Viśvanātha temple which he erected there and could not for all his life deserted that place. An inscription in the Visvanatha temple at Teṉkāśi mentions that he lived and died only at Teṉkāsi in A. D. 1463.[24]

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[23] Ibid. p. 202.

[24] The following inscription describes the death of
Arikēśari at Teṉkāśi–
கோதற்ற பத்தி அறுபத்திமூவர்தம் கூட்டத்திலோ -
தீதற்ற வெள்ளிச் சிலம்பகத்தோ, செம்பொன்
அம்பலத்தோ

Was Arikesari Parākrama defeated by Narasā Nāyaka?

Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao maintained that the Māṉabhūshaṇa or Māṉakavacha who was defeated by Narasā Nāyaka was this Arikāśari Parākrama.[25] Following him Rev. Father Heras had concluded that Narasā Nayakā invaded the Pāṇḍya country in A. D. 1466 during the reign of Virupāksha and the Pāṇḍya ruler who witnessed the might of Narasā Nāyaka was none other than Arikēśari Parākrama.[26] Dr. T. V. Mahalingam also believes that Narasā Nāyaka removed Arikēśari Parākrama Pāṇḍya from Madura to Teṉkaśi and appointed Mahābalivāṇadirāyars in charge of the administration of Madura.[26(a)]

The above conclusions are too out of date to be mentioned now. We have seen that Arikēśari Parākrama was ruling over Teṉkāśi from A. D. 1422 to 1463. It has been pointed out that the expedition of Narasā Nāyaka to the Tamiḻ country could not be fixed before A. D. 1497 according to inscriptional evidences.[27] It was thirty four years after the death of Arikēśari Parākrama that Narasā Nāyaka invaded the Pāṇḍya country after defeating the Chōḻa Kōṉērirāja, and the Madura or Maṟava chieftain. This chronological inconsistency enables us to discard the view that Arikēśari was defeated by Narasā Nāyaka. It must be one of the successors of Arikēśari Parākrama with the title of Māṉābhushaṇa that was defeated by Narasā Nāyakā.

வேதத்திலோ விசுவநாதனிரு
பாதத்திலோ சென்று புக்கான் பராக்கிரம
பாண்டியனே.

25. T. A. S. No. 1 – 14. p. 52 and E. I. Vol. 9. p. 330.
26. The Āraviḍu Dynasty. pp. 108 & 109.
26(a). P. of I. H. C. 1945. p. 202.
27. See ante. p. 147

Who was the Māṉabhushaṇa defeated by Narasā Nāyaka?

The successor of Arikēśari Parākrama Pāṇḍya was his younger brother Kulaśēkhara alias Śrivallabhā whose accession date is A. D. 1430. He seems to hāve been a co-ruler with his elder brother Arikēśari Parākrama and he succeeded his brother in A. D. 1464. An inscription from the Tēṉkāśi temple dated A. D. 1465 mentions that Kulaśēkhara Srivallabhā completed the construction of the nine-storied tower begun by his elder brother in his 36th regnal year.[28] There are inscriptions mentioning his 38th and 39th regnal years at Teṉkāśi.[29] He seems to have ruled upto A.D. 1474 for forty-four years from A. D. 1430.[30] This Kulaśēkhara Śrivallabhā did not come into contact with any of the rulers of Vijayanagar during his period and these inscriptions do not mention anything about the feudatory relations either with Virupāksha or Śāḷuva Narasimha and his inscriptions are found only in the Tinnevelly district.

The successor of Kulaśēkhara alias Śrivallabhā (1465–1474) was his son Aḻagaṉ perumaḷ Parākrama Pāṇḍya. He also seems to have been a co-ruler with his father from A. D. 1468 and an inscription mentions that he was born under the constellation of Aviṭṭam and he began to rule, perhaps as a viceroy, from A. D. 1468. In 1471 he made a gift of land for six house-sites at a place called Śrivallabhā Chaturvēdimaṅgalam according to an inscription from Karivālamvandanallūr.[31] He was also known as Parākrama Vīra Pāṇḍya according to two inscriptions from Kaṉyākumari district dated A. D. 1474.[32] He seems to have exercised power till his 18th regnal year that is till A. D. 1486.[33]

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[28] T. A. S. Vol. I. p. 97. V. R. Tinn. III. 366.

[29] 643 and 645 of 1917.

[30] 544 and 565 of 1917

[31] V. R. III. Tinn. 298.

The successor of Aḷagaṉ Perumāḷ Parākrama Pāṇḍya was one Jaṭāvarmaṉ Kulaśēkhara Parākrama Pāṇḍya, born under the constellation of Kārttigai and he assumed royal powers between 12th January and 1st April 1480.[34] Neither inscriptions nor other sources help us to determine the relation between this Jaṭāvarmaṉ Kulaśēkhara Parākrama Pāṇḍya and his predecessor. Prof. K. A. N. Sastri regards him as a sister's son of Arikēśari Parākrama Pāṇḍya.[35] An inscription from Teṉkāśi dated A. D. 1484 mentions his rule in that year.[36] There are also records mentioning his 11th, 15th, 18th, 19th, 21st, 26th and 29th regnal years from Teṉkāśi.[36(a)] His last regnal year seems to be Saka 1429 (A. D. 1507). Therefore, Jaṭāvarmaṉ Kulaśēkhara Parākrama Pāṇḍyā born in the asterism of Kārttigai, was the Pāṇḍya ruler with Teṉkāśi as his capital from A. D. 1480 to 1507 and thus he was a contemporary of Śāḷuva Narasimha (Narasā Nāyaka), Immadi Narasimha and Vīra Narasimha. The title Māṇabhushaṇa or Māṇābharaṇa seems to have been assumed by him following the example of Arikēśari Parākrama Pāṇḍya.

Dr. Venkataramanayya rightly rejects the identification of Māṇabhūshaṇa of the Telugu works with Arikēśari Parākrama Pāṇḍya because he died in A. D. 1463 and Narasā Nāyaka invaded the Pāṇḍya country only after A. D. 1495. But, he regards Māṇabhushaṇa as neither a Chōḷa nor a Chēra

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32. Sewell. H. I, of S. I. p. 227.
33. 548 of 1917.
34. Sewell. H. I. of S. I. p. 229.
35. The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom. p. 249.
36. 550 of 1917.
36(a). Nos. 503, 508, 502, 624. 516, 151 and 618 of 1917.

nor a Pāṇḍya but some one other than these three.[37] Subsequently, he says that the Pāṇḍyaṉ opponent of Narasā Nāyakā must have been one of the rulers of Tenkāśi, probably Parākrama alias Kulaśēkhara who ruled from A. D. 1479 to 1499.[38] If we can take into consideration the date of Narasā Nāyakā's invasion, i. e., A. D. 1479, the Māṉabhushaṇa who was defeated by Narasā Nāyakā, must be the ruler of Teṉkāśi, Jāṭāvarmaṉ Kulaśēkhara Parākrama Pāṇḍya born under the constellation of Kārttigai, who ascended the throne of the Pāṇdyas in A. D. 1480.

What led to the conquest of the Tinnevelly region by Narasā Nāyakā and what was the nature of the conquest? Dr. S. K. Iyengar believed that the Pāṇdyas who had practically retired into the Tinnevelly district attempted to regain their former position in Madura and so it led to the invasion of Teṉkāśi by Narasā Nāyakā.[39] This is a supposition which could not be substantiated by any evidence. Neither epigraphical nor literary sources confirm the view that the Teṉkāśi Pāṇdya ruler attempted to regain his patrimony. If he had aimed at such an object he could have made common cause with the Bāṇās of Madura and presented a formidable opposition against Narasā Nāyakā. The Varadāmbika-Pariṇayam and the Achyutarāyabhyūdayam mention no such alliance between the Bāṇā chieftains and the Pāṇdyas of Teṉkāśi. Therefore, it was the imperial ambition of Narasā Nāyaka to bring the whole of the Tamiḻ country under Vijayanagar rule that was responsible for the conquest of the Pāṇḍya country from Māṉabhūshaṇa who was ruling over the Teṉkāśi region from A. D. 1480. This Māṉabhūshaṇa was one Jaṭāvarmaṇ Kulaśēkara Parākrama Pāṇḍya who was defeated by Narasā Nāyaka. He was forced to become a feudatory of Vijayanagar and to pay tribute from A. D. 1497 and continued to rule till A. D. 1507.

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[37] F. S. pp. 169-70.
[38] Ibid. p. 171.
[39] Sources. p. 10.

CHAPTER — VIII

PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT AND FEUDALISM

In the pre-Vijayanagar period the Tamil̤ country was divided into several provinces which were known as maṇḍalams. These maṇdalams were named after the Chōl̤a monarchs with whom the formation of the political unit was associated. The maṇḍalams were (1) Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōl̤amaṇḍalam (Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam), (2) Chōl̤amaṇḍalam (consisting of the districts of Tanjore, Trichinopoly and parts of South Arcot district), (3) Magadaimaṇḍalam (parts of South Arcot, Salem and North Arcot Districts), (4) Adhirājarājamaṇḍalam (the Koṅgu country covered by the Coimbatore district and a part of Salem district) and (5) Rājarājapaṇdimaṇḍalam or the Pāṇḍya country.

During the Vijayanagar period the maṇḍalams as provincial units lost their importance and political divisions came to be called *rājyas*. In size and extent the rājyas were smaller than the maṇḍalams. But the term maṇḍalam was continued to be used in inscriptions along with the term rājya. Even at the present day the names Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, Chōl̤amaṇḍalam and Pāṇḍyamaṇḍalam are mentioned though they have no political or administrative significance.[1] The division of the Tamil̤ country into rājyas depended more on historical accidents and local peculiarities than on any deliberate or scientific principles followed by the Vijayanagar government.

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[1] Dr. T. V. Mahalingam. Adm. and Soc. Life. p. 180,

The Śambuvarāya or the Paḍaiviḍu territory was made a part of the Mulbāgalrājya when it was conquered by Kumāra Kampaṇā. But, it was later formed into a separate province called Rājagambīrarājyam or the Paḍaivīdurājyam consisting of the modern North Arcot, Chingleput and parts of South Arcot districts. The northern part of the Tamiḻ country forming parts of Chingleput and Chittoor districts was called the Chandragirirājya with Chandragiri as its headquarters. With the expansion of the Vijayanagar power south of the river Coleroon and after the conquest of Madura two more rājyas were formed. Parts of South Arcot district south of the river, southern Peṇṇār came to be called Tiruvadigairājyam with Tiruvadigai as its head-quarters. It is difficult to state clearly whether the present Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts were formed into a single rājya or into two rājyas. Because, none of the inscriptions found in these two districts mention the term rājya. Places are referred to in these parts as being in vaḻanāḍu or Chōḻamaṇḍalam. It may be pointed out that the ancient name of Chōḻamaṇḍalam was conveniently allowed to be continued or sometimes it was called Chōḻarājyam. In 1371 Madura became the head-quarters of a separate rājyam which covered parts of Rāmnāḍ, Madura and Coimbatore districts. Therefore, the Tamiḻ country was divided into five rājyas during the reign of Kṛiṣhṇadēvarāya according to inscriptional evidences. They were (1) Chandragirirājyam, (2) Paḍaivīḍurājyam, (3) Tiruvadigairājyam, (4) Chōḻarājyam and (5) Madurarājyam or Pāṇḍyarājyam. South of the Madurairājyam were the feudatory states of the Pāṇḍyas of Teṉkāśi and the Tiruvadirājyam of the Chēras who paid tribute to the Vijayanagar emperors.

These rājyas were formed as a reslut of the gradual expansion of the Vijayanagar empire in the Tamiḻ country and so they were not equal in size and extent. Some were big and others were small and so they were called mahārājyas and rājyas respectively. Chandragiri and Paḍaiviḍu were mahārājyas whereas Tiruvadigai was only a rājya.[2] The rājyas were also called maṇḍalams sometimes.[3] They were divided into vaḷanāḍus and vaḷanāḍus into nāḍus which were at times called kūṟṟams or kōṭṭams. In Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam the intermediary division of vaḷanāḍu was absent and the whole area was divided into kōṭṭams only. The koṭṭam or kūṟṟam or nāḍu may be compared to the modern taluks. Rural parts in such nāḍus seem to have been called paṟṟus. But the division paṟṟu is used inconsistently in inscriptions.[4] The nāḍus were each divided into aimbadinmēlagarams or units of fifty villages. Each such division appears to have had a chief village. For example, Vaḷudilambaṟṟu uśavaḍi was the chief place and probably the head-quarters of an aimbadinmēlagaram. Below it was the agaram or maṅgalam each of which in turn consisted of a few villages which were known as piḍagais. Some villages were also known as taṉiyūrs. It is not clearly known what a taṉiyūr was. *Uttiramērūr* was a taṉiyūr in the Kaliyūrkōṭṭam of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. Kavērippākkam (N. A. Dt.) was a taṉiyūr in Paḍūvurkōṭṭam.[5] Tiruvāmāttūr in South Arcot district was a tāṉiyūr in Vāvalūrnāḍu.[6]

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[2] Ibid.

[3] No. 319 of 1911.

[4] According to an inscription from Tirumalai (N. A. Dt,) the village of Sambukulapperumal Agaram was situated in Murugamangalapparru in Mandaikulanadu in Palkunrakkottam in Jayangondasolamandalam. (87 of 1887). While according to another record a particular chadurvedimangalam was in a nāḍu which was in a parru that formed the division of a kottam in the same Jayangondasolamandalam. (319 of 1911). (See Dr. T. V. Mahalingam. Op. cit., p, 181).

[5] 386 of 1905.

[6] 68 of 1922.

In these taṉiyūrs there were Śabhās consisting of the learned brāhmins of the village and there was also a local treasury. Perhaps these were the essentials of a taṉiyūr.

Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras:

The practice of appointing members of the royal family as governors or Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras of provinces, which had been adopted by the Pallavas, the Chōḻas and the Hoysaḷas was followed by the Vijayanagar rulers also. Kumāra Kampaṇā was the first Vijayanagar Mahāmaṇḍālēśvara in the Tamiḻ country during the reign of Bukka I. He was followed by his son Jammaṇa Uḍaiyār or Empaṇa Uḍaiyār. Even during the time of Kumāra Kampaṇā there was another member of the Śaṅgama royal family as a governor of the Tamiḻ country. There are seven inscriptions of Vira Śavaṇa Uḍaiyār mentioning him as Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara dated between A. D. 1353 and 1364. They are available in places such as Kāḷahasti, Tiruvoṟṟiyūr, Neyyāḍippakkam (Chingleput Dt.), Śendalai (Tanjore Dt.) and Śaṅgramanallūr.[7] From this we have to infer that Vira Śavaṇa Uḍaiyar seems to have co-operated with Kumāra Kampaṇā in the administration of the Tamiḻ country.

After Kumāra Kampaṇā and Vīra Śavaṇa Uḍaiyār Harihara II appointed his son Virupaṇṇa as the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara. The reign of Harihara II (A. D. 1377–1404) marked the beginning of an important epoch in the provincial administration of the Vijayanagar empire. The first step which he took after his accession to the throne was the consolidation of Vijayanagar rule over the Tamiḻ country. He removed his cousins from their position as Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara of the Tamiḻ country from A. D. 1377 to 1400 according to inscriptional evidences.[9] Along with Virupaṇṇa, Bukka II was the governor of the northern part of the Tamiḻ country from A. D. 1385 to 1404.[10] During the reign of Dēvarāya I, his son Vīra Vijaya Bhūpati was ruling over the northern part of the Tamiḻ country from A. D. 1408 to 1421.[11] The second son of Dēvarāya I, Harihara Uḍaiyār was the Mahamaṇḍalēśvara of the territory watered by the river Bhavāṇi.[12]

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[7] Nos. 188 of 1903, 213 and 240 of 1912, 8 of 1899 and 213 and 214 of 1901.

But, from the time of Dēvarāya II (1422–1446) we can note a change of policy in the appointment of Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras in the Tamiḻ country. It was not only members of the royal family but also members belonging to the subordinate rulers and the nobility were chosen as governors. This might have been due to the fact that enough members of the royal family with ability to discharge their duties properly as governors were not available. Further, with the expansion of the empire the number of provinces also increased and so, more Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras had to be appointed. During the reign of Dēvarāya II the sovereignty of Vijayanagar was recognised throughout the Tamiḻ country except in the extreme south which was ruled over by the Pāṇḍyas of Teṉkāśi and according to Nuniz the kings of Coullao, Ceyllo, Paleacate, Pegu and Tenacary and many other countries paid tribute to him.[13] Srigirinātha Uḍaiyār,

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8. Further Sources. Vol. I. p. 80.
9. Nos. 156 of 1907 and 78 of 1913.
10. No. 408 of 1923.
11. 568 of 1902 and S. I. I. Vol. 8. No. 259.
12. C. P. No. 27 of 1905.
13. Sewell. F. E. p. 302. Coullao may be identified with Quilon. Ceyllo with Ceylon. Paleacate with Pulicat. Pegu and Tenacery with Burma. It is doubtful whether all these countries especially, Burma formed part of the Vijayanagar empire.

a member of the royal family was the governor of Chandragrirājyam.[14] Śāḷuva Tippayyadēva Mahārāja was appointed governor of the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam region.[15] One Śilupparāśar was the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara of the Paḍaivīḍurājyam.[16] Śāḷuva Tirumalaiyadēva was the governer of Chōḷamaṇḍalam.[17] Members of the Śāḷuva family were closely related to Dēvarāya II. Harima, the sister of Dēvarāya II was given in marriage to Tippa, the grand-father of Tippayyadēva and Tirumalaiyadēva[18]

This policy of appointing members of the nobility who were closely related to the royal family as governors was supplemented by another principle which was followed by Mallikārjuṇa. He seems to have appointed scions of the ancient royal families and also influential local chieftains as governors subordinate to Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras. Such chieftains were Gurunāthadēvachōḷa Mahārājā,[19] Gaṅgarāja Vijayarāya,[a] Ekāmbaranātha Kachirāya,[b] Sriraṅganātha Pallavarāya,[c] Parākrama Pāṇḍya Vijayālayadēva[d] and Vīra Pāṇḍya Vijayālayadēva.[e] Mahāmaṇdalēśvara Gurunāthadēva and Timmayyadēva are mentioned in two inscriptions from Aṉukkāvur in North Arcot district.[20] Their suffixes, Chōḷa Mahārāja will help us to infer that they were members

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14. Dr. T. V. Mahalingam. Op. cit. p. 86.
15. 694 of 1904.
16. 497 of 1926.
17. 264 of 1927.
18. Sewell. H. I. of S. I. p. 400.
19. 432 of 1922.
    a). 154 of 1919.
    b). 254 of 1916.
    c). 711 of P. S. I.
    d). 707 of P. S. I.
    e). 712 of P. S. I.
20. 432 and 435 of 1925.

belonging to the Telugu Chōḍa royal family and they were appointed subordinate governors of the present North Arcot region. Another chieftain under Mallikārjuṇa was Vijayarāya Gaṅgarāja of Kiḷiyanūr (S. A. Dt.)[21]

According to a record from the Śivā temple at Srimushṇam dated A.D. 1467 we know about one Ekāmbaranātha Kachirāyaṇ. No. 711 of Puḍukkōṭṭai inscriptions mentions about Sriraṅga Pallavarāyāṇ. These chieftains call themselves as Arasar and it is not clear whether they were subordinate governors or owners of Pāḍikāval rights. Among the other governors of the Tamiḻ country during the reign of Mallikārjuṇa the following may be mentioned. Aḷiya Rāmayyadēva Mahārāja was perhaps a son-in-law of Mallikārjuṇa.[22] Śāḷuva Tirumalaya was the governor of the present Tanjore district in about A. D. 1450.[23] A record dated A. D. 1452 from Nagar (Chingleput Dt.) mentions one Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Mēdini Miśuragaṇḍa Naraśiṅgadēva Mahārāja who is none other than Śāḷuva Narasimha.[24]

During the reign of Virupāksha (1465–85) more than four governors of the Tamiḻ country are mentioned in inscriptions; Śāḷuva Narasimhadēva,[25] Iśvara Nāyaka, his son Narasā Nāyakā[26] and Immadi Tirumalayadēva Mahārāja. Besides them, there were also local chieftains like Mallikārjuṇa

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[21] 154 of 1919. Perhaps he was a member of the Malaiyaman family of Kiḷiyanūr.

[22] 84 of 1919.

[23] 524 of 1920.

[24] 304 of 1910.

[25] 188 of 1902, 762 of 1914, 461 of 1921.

[26] 244, 357, 395 of 1912, 198 of 1904, 143 of 1915, 368 of 1917.

Kachirāyan,[27] Tiruvēṅkatanāthā Toṇḍaiman[28] and Chitar-uḍaiyān Śetirāyaṉ.[29] Some of these governors were continued during the reigns of Immadi Narasimha and Vīra Narasimha. Tirumalai Nāyaka, Immādi Śāḷuva Nāyakā, Ramayyachōḷa Mahārāja and Pottiyadēvachōḷa Mahārāja were some of the new governors.[30]

During the reign of Kṛishṇadēvarāya, (1509 – 1530), Mahāmaṇdalēśvara Vīra Narasiṅga Nāyaka (Sellappa) served the emperor as his viceroy in the Tamiḻ country. In the northern part of the country three subordinate governors Āṉagoṇḍi Rāmayadēva, Kōnēridēva and Koṇḍayadēvachōḷa are referred to in inscriptions.[31] Perhaps they were subject to the control of Śāḷuva Narasiṅga Nāyāka who was the supreme governor. Besides the above direct representatives of the king there were also feudatories subject to Kṛishṇa-dēvarāya's rule. They were Poṉṉambalanātha Toṇḍaimāṉ of Arantāṅgi,[32] Paḷḷikoṇḍaperumāḷ Vijayālayadēva and his son Vairavanāyanār who were rulers af *Śūraikkudi* (Pudukkottai).[33]

4 *Officers of the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras :*

These Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras seem to have been attended by two officers who helped them in carrying on the provincial government efficiently. They were the Mahāpradhāṇi and the Daṇḍanāyaka. These two officers seem to have been different to begin with, but in course of time they were merged into a single office. Sometimes, even Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras were known as Daṇḍanāyakas. For example, Lakkaṇa Daṇaḍnāyaka during the time of Dēvarāpa II was the governor of the Pāṇḍyarājyām with the title of "Lord of the Southern Ocean." "In their constitutional status and in their relations with the emperors the position of the Daṇḍanāyakas appears to have been similar to that of the princes who served as provincial viceroys."[34]

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[27] 269 of 1916.

[28] 249 of 1940.

[29] 94 of 1906.

[30] Ibid.

[31] 185 and 187 of 1942.

[32] 730 of P. S. 1.

[33] 726, 727 and 731 of P. S. I.

When Virupaṇṇa Uḍaiyār was the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara of the Tamiḻ country four Daṇḍanāyakās are mentioned in inscriptions. They were Śōmayya Daṇḍanāyaka, Maṅgappa Uḍaiyār, Muddarāsar and Aṇṇappa Chauṇḍappa Uḍaiyār.[35] Muddappa was also known as Muddappa Mantri.[36] One Nañjanāṅgaḷ was the Pradhāṇi of Virupaṇṇa.[37] These two official terms are used so loosely in inscriptions that we have to regard them as identical at times. Their duties also were so many that there was no clear cut portfolio system distributing work between them. During the reign of Bukka II, one Obāḷadēva Mahārāja was the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara of the Tamiḻ country and he was helped by his Pradhāṇi called Tipparāsar.[38] Under Devarāya I, Narasimhadeva Uḍaiyār and Aṇṇa Uḍaiyār are mentioned as governors and they were served by Aṇdappa Uḍaiyār and Śilupparāśar who were the Daṇḍanāyaka and Mahāpradhāṇi respectively.[39]

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[34] Dr. T. V. Mahalingam. Op. cit. p. 187.

[35] 51 and 75 of 1913. 96 of 1941, 87 of 1939, 72 of 1939.

[36] 154 of 1937.

[37] 375 of 1917.

[38] 342 of 1909 and 357 of 1923.

[39] 525 of 1913.

During the reign of Dēvarāya II, Mallappa Daṇḍanāyaka and Perumāḷdēva Daṇḍanāyaka are mentioned in the inscriptions of the Tamiḻ region.[40] Aṇṇappanāṅgaḷ, Mādaṇa Uḍaiyār and Aṇṇa Chauṇḍayya Uḍaiyār were the Mahāpradhāṇis.[41] Under Mallikārjuṇa and his successors we can infer the gradual disappearance of these two officers according to inscriptional evidences. The solitary name of Dēvappānaṅgaḷ as the Mahāpradhāṇi of Mallikārjuṇa is mentioned.[42] During the time of Virupāksha, we find no mention of the officers of either Daṇḍanāyaka or Mahāpradhāṇi in the inscriptions. Under Śāḷuva Narasimha, one Virupākshadēva Daṇḍanāyaka is mentioned.[43] We have no source of information to decide whether these two officers worked during the reigns of Immadi Narasimha and Vīra Narasimha. But, Kṛishṇadēvarāya seems to have revived these officers and we have the name of Vaḍamalai Aṇṇagaḷ or Vaḍamalaiyār (brother of Haridāśa) as the Prādhāṇi and Śāḷuvarāja Nāyakā and Vīrayya as the two Daṇḍanāyakas during his reign, according to inscriptions.[44]

Several other officers besides the Mahāpradhāṇi and the Daṇḍanāyaka are found mentioned in inscriptions. They were the Olai, Rāyabhaṇḍaram, Śamantātikāri, Aḍaippam, Rāyaśam and Mugappāvāḍai. But it is not certain whether these officers acted together as a council as Dr. T. V. Mahalingam believes.[45]

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40. 350 of 1912; 496 and 497 of 1926; 61, 64 of 1936; 265
ahd 41. of 1935; 193 and 196 of 1910; 360 of 1911; 143 of 1929.

42. 295 of 1910

43. 648 of 1919

44. Dr. T. V. Mahalingam, op. cit. p. 37 and 225 of 1916 and 133 of 1932.

45. Dr. T. V. Mahalingam. op. cit. p. 188.

Śōmappa Uḍaiyār and his son Gaṇḍāraguli Mārayya Nāyaka were the Pradhāṇi and the Daṇḍanāyaka of Kumāra Kampaṇā. After Śōmappa, Gōpanārya became the Pradhāṇi and Daṇḍanāyaka. Śāḷuva Maṅgu was the Olaināyakam and Añegoṇḍi Viṭṭappar was the Rāyabhaṇḍāram or treasurer of Kumāra Kampanā. Nāgappar and Lakkappar are mentioned as the Aḍaippam or the betel page of Kumāra Kampanā. The officer called Rāyaśam is very often mentioned in the epigraphs. The term Rāyaśam which is a popular form of Vrayaśam means literally the profession of writing.[46] An inscription dated A. D. 1429 registers an order of the Rāyaśam to the trustees of the temple at Tiruvoṛṛiyūr.[47] Rāyśam Sripati Ayyan and Rāyaśam Koṇḍamarāssayya are mentioned in two inscriptions during the reign of Kṛishṇadevarāya.[48] Though this office of Rāyaśam was at first in existence at the Central government, the Provincial governors had also their Rāyaśams or secretaries who issued the orders of the governors to the subordinate officers, ūravar, nāṭṭavar and the trustees of the temples. They may be compared to the tiruvāikēlvis of the Chōḷa period.

The provincial governors were also helped by other officers known as Kaṅgāṇis and vāśalkāraṇikkam. An inscription dated A. D. 1368 mentions that Kumāra Kampanā appointed one Vijayaśiṅgadēva as the Kaṅgāṇi of his palace at Paḍaivīdu.[49] A record from Viriñchipuram dated 4th May 1365 mentions that a brahmin of Rājamahēndri was appointed as a Kaṅgāṇi by Kumāra Kampaṇā.[50] Karāṇikkam means

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46. Ibid.
47. 226 of 1912.
48. 66 of 1939, 375 and 413 of 1919.
49. 250 of 1906.
50. 194 of 1940.

an accountant and the officer seems to have been the personal accountant of the provincial governor. Two vāśalkaraṇīkkams or personal accountants are mentioned during the period of Immadi Narasimha. Vāśal Mallappa Nāyaka and Vāśal Timmappa Nāyaka were the personal accountants of the provincial governors during the period of Kṛiṣhṇadēvarāya. The former made a gift of land to the temple of Śūryadēva at Aṉbil (Tanjore Dt.) in A. D. 1527.[51] In A. D. 1522 Vāśal Timmappa Nāyaka made the gift of a village in Chandragirirājya for the merit of Kṛiṣhṇadēvarāya to the temple at Kāḷahasti.[52] Karaṇīkkam Maṇgarāsayyaṉ is mentioned in three inscriptions during this period. A record from Teḷḷāru (N. A. Dt.) mentions that Maṅgarāsayyaṉ conferred on one Peddaperumāḷ the honour of riding on a horse and using an umbrella.[53] A Tiruvāmāttūr record dated 1514 states that the trustees of the temple petitioned Kṛiṣhṇadēvarāya through Kārāṇīkkam Maṅgarāśayyaṉ.[54] From this we have to infer that vāśalkāraṇikkam was an officer of the Central government representing the interests of the empire at the provincial head-quarters. The Ōlai of Daḷavaṉūr and the tolls officer of Kūrmāyi in Chittoor district were well-known provincial officers during the period of Kumāra Kampaṇā. Chikkarāśar and Vacharāśar are mentioned as tolls officers in the Tamiḻ country during the reign of Dēvarāya II.

Powers and privileges of the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras:

(a) The Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras enjoyed and exercised certain autonomous powers within their jurisdiction. They held their own courts, had their own officers and ruled their territories without much interference from the Central government if they discharged their duties properly and loyally. If they were members of the royal family, they assumed royal titles appropriate to their respective dynasties. For example, Kumāra Kampaṇā is mentioned in several of his inscriptions as "Srimaṇ Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, Arirāyavibhāṭan, Bāṣhaikkutappuvārāya Kaṇḍaṇ, Muvarāya Kaṇḍaṇ, Sri Vīra Kampaṇa Uḍaiyār, the son of Bokkaṇa Uḍaiyār."[55] Jommaṇa Uḍaiyār, the son of Kampaṇa is referred to as the son of Kampaṇa Uḍaiyār who had the title of 'Sriman Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Arirāyavibhāṭaṇ etc."[56] The same titles were adopted by Virupaṇṇa, Bhupatirāya and Bukka II when they were provincial governors. Lakkaṇa and Mādaṇa were known as the 'Lords of the Southern Ocean.' The Śāḷuva governors added the titles of "Gaṇḍa Kattāri Śāḷuva and Mēdinī Mīśuragaṇḍa" to the above titles. Governors belonging to the Telugu Chōḍa family were bestowed the title of Mahārāja.[57] These governors, whether they were princes of the bood royal or imperial officers were appointed by the emperor with the advice of his ministers but it was not a hard and fast rule. The order conveying their appointment bore the royal seal.[58] They were transferred from one province to another as occasion demanded and there did not seem to have been a time limit for the governorship.[59]

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[51] 23 of 1927.

[52] 184 and 188 of 1922.

[53] 82 of 1935.

[54] 13 of 1922.

Kumāra Kampaṇā was at first the governor of the Mulbāgal province and after conquering the Tamiḷ country became the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara of Rajagambīrarājyam. Śavaṇa

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[55] No. 27 of 1921.

[56] 573 of 1902

[57] Ramayyadevachola Maharaja etc.

[58] Dr. T. V. Mahalingam op, cit. p. 188.

[59] Ibid.

Uḍaiyār was the governor of Udayagirirājya and later he was appointed as the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara of Chōḷarājyam. Virupaṇṇa Uḍayār was the governor of the Araga province and later he governed the province of Udayagiri. So, he was also known as Udayagiri Virupaṇṇa. Later on, he became the Mahamaṇḍalēśvara of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. Lakkaṇa Daṇḍanāyaka was the governor of Mulbāgal and Tekāl (Mysore) provinces in A. D. 1430. Then he was transferred to the Tundīra province over which he ruled till about A. D. 1440. Later, he was sent to the Pāṇḍyarājya with the title 'Lord of the Southern Ocean' with Madura as his head-quarters.

(b) The provincial viceroys were given the privilege of issuing some coins by the emperor. Caesar Frederick who travelled through the Vijayanagar empire mentions, "When we came into a new governor's territory, as everyday we did, although they were all tributaries to the king of Bizenagar, yet every one of them stamped a small coyne of copper, so that the money we took this day would not serve the next day."[60] A copper coin issued by Lakkaṇa Daṇḍanāyaka confirms this observation of C. Frederick, The coin has the figure of an elephant on the reverse and the letter "L" above it and the obverse bears the legend "maṇa Daṇāyakaru" which probably stands for the name of Lakshmaṇa Daṇḍanāyaka.[61] But, we must know that it was only coins of small denominations that were issued by the governors. The Varāha, a gold coin equal to 3½ rupees, seems to have been issued only by the Central government.

(c) The Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras exercised the power of imposing new taxes and remitting old ones within their jurisdiction. An inscription from Vēdal (N. A. Dt.) mentions the personal gift of a village with all the old and new taxes to the temple at that place by Kumāra Kampaṇā. He also remitted the taxes due from the village to the government, such as, tax on loom, kāśayam, kuḍimai, śūlavari, ariśikāṇam, taxes on good cow and good goat, viṟpaṇam. vāśalpaṇam, aśuvakkaḍamai etc.[62] Another record from Mādambākkam (N. A. Dt.) dated 24—7—1374 mentions an order of Kumāra Kampaṇā remitting several taxes from a village and making it a free gift to the temple.[63] This practice of remitting taxes and imposing new ones by the provincial governors was usually adopted by the successors of Kumāra Kampaṇā.

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[60] Purchas. His Pilgrimes. Vol. 10. p. 99.

[61] Dr. T. V. Mahalingam. Op. cit., p. 189.

(d) The provincial governors were responsible to the emperor for the maintenance of law and order within their jurisdiction and they were entitled to several honours and privileges such as the use of throne, flywhisks, palanquins, elephants etc.

(e) Many of the governors and their officers were promoted to important posts in the imperial service. The experience which the governors had gained as Mahāmaṇḍalēsvaras was well utilised by the monarchs. Nāgaṇṇa Daṇḍanāyaka, the Mahāpradhāṇi of Dēvarāya I was the governor of Mulbāgalrājya. Lakkaṇa Daṇḍanāyaka, the chief-minister of Dēvarāya II served as governor in various provinces.[64] Timmaṇa Daṇḍanāyaka, the Mahāpradhāṇi of Mallikārjuṇa was the governor of the Nāgamaṅgalam division of the empire. Śāḷuva Timma, the chief-minister of Kṛishṇadēvarāya was also the governor of Koṇḍāviḍu. Koṇḍamarāśaya, the Rāyaśam of Kṛishṇadēvarāya was the governor of the

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[62] 78 of 1908.

[63] 324 of 1911.

[64] Adm. and Soc. Life p. 191.

Udayagiri province. Śāḷuva Vīra Narasimha Nāyaka was the supreme governor of the Tamiḻ country, during the time of Kṛishṇadēvarāya. Later on, he became an important official at the Central government during the reign of Achyutarāya.

A few of the provincial governors who held some office or other in the Central government often wielded great influence at the imperial capital which resulted in serious consequences. The Śaṅgama brothers who were themselves influential feudatories under the Hoysaḷas gradually rose to power and overthrew their masters. Under Mallikārjuṇa and Virupāksha, Śāḷuva Narasimha, the governor of Chandragirirājya gradually increased his powers and then usurped the throne for his own advantage and that of the empire. Immadi Narasimha's rule was overshadowed by the magnificent personality of Narasā Nāyakā though he did not usurp the throne His son, Vīra Narasimha brought about the second revolution and paved the way for the glorious period of Kṛishṇadēvarāya.

Feudalism in Vijayanagar Polity:

The Vijayanagar empire came into existence during the mediaeval period of Indian History and attained its zenith when the factors which influenced modern Indian History began to operate. The factors which influenced modern Indian History were the foundation of the Mughal empire, the beginnings of the Maratha and Sikh national movements and the coming of Europeans to India. These three factors were indirectly responsible for the decline of the empire. But, the direct causes of the decline of the empire seem to be the feudal nature of its army and its revenue system. When describing and enumerating the vast army of Kṛishṇadēvarāya on the eve of the battle of Raichur, Nuniz mentions that the imperial army directly under Kṛishṇadēvarāya consisted of 40 thousand foot, six thousand horses and three hundred elephants, But the feudal army supplied by the subordinate rulers and the Nāyaks had been calculated by Nuniz to be more than 322,000 foot, 21,600 horses and 235 elephants.[1] Why did the Nāyaks of the empire supply such a large army? The answer to this question leads us to probe into the study of the Nāyaṇkara or the Amaram system of land tenure in the Vijayanagar empire. Domingos Paes who visited the court of Kṛishṇadēvarāya says "These captains whom the king has over the feudal troops are the nobles of the kingdom; they hold the city and the town and villages of the kingdom; there are captains amongst them who have a revenue of a million and a million and a half pardaos, others a hundred thousand pardaos, others two hundred, three hundred or five hundred pardaos and as each one has revenue so the king fixes for him the number of troops he must maintain in foot, horses and elephants. These troops are always ready for duty whenever they may he called out and wherever they may have to go; and in this way he (the king) has this million of fighting man always ready.[2]

Fernao Nuniz who lived in Vijayanagar during the reign of Achyuta Rāya mentions that the kingdom of Vijayanagar was divided among more than two hundred captains who were all heathens. The king fixed the revenue and the number of troops that the captains had to supply to the king according to the extent of land which they held and the revenues which they collected.[3] He also gives a list of the Nāyaks, their income in pagodas, their military and financial contribution to the Central government as follows:

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1. R. Sewell. F. E. pp. 326–27.
2. Ibid. pp.280–81.
3. Ibid. p. 389.

Name of captain or Nāyak	Income in pagodas	Military contribution	Financial contribution
1) Śāḷuva Nāyak the Prime Minister of Achyuta	11,00,000	30,000 foot 3,000 horse 30 elephants	1/3
2) Ajapareatimapa Lord of Udayagiri	8,00,000	25,000 foot 1,500 horse 40 elephants	3/8
3) Gapanayque Lord of Roysl	6,00,000	20,000 foot 2,500 horse 20 elephants	1/4
4) Lepanayque Lord of Vingapur	3,00,000	20,000 foot 1,200 horse 28 elephants	4/15
5) Narvara Lord of Ondegama	4,00,000	12,000 foot 600 horse 20 elephants	1/2
6) Cinapanayque Lord of the Land of Calay	3,00,000	10,000 foot 800 horse	1/3
7) Krishnappanayque Lord of Aosel	2,00,000	700 foot 500 horse	7/20
8) Bijapanayque Lord of Bodial	3,00,000	10,000 foot 800 horse 15 elephants	1/20
9) Mallappanayque of Avaly	15,000	6,000 foot 400 horse	1/3

10) Adapanayque Lord of the country of Gate	3,00,000	8,000 foot 800 horse 30 elephants	2/15
11) Bijapanayque Lord of Mumdoguel	4,00,000	10,000 foot 1,000 horse 50 elephants[4]	3/8

This division of lands among the captains or Nāyaks of the empire was based on the mediaeval doctrine that the king was the owner of all the lands in the country and he had the right of distributing lands to his dependents. Nuniz seems to have clearly understood this theory when he says, "All the land belongs to the king and from his hand the captains hold it. They make it over to the husbandmen who pay 9/10 of the income to their Lord and they have no land of their own, for the kingdom belongs entirely to the king."[5]

Feudalism in the Tamiḻ country:

The above theory of the ruler being the owner of all the lands in the country was strictly adhered to by the Vijayanagar rulers in the Tamiḻ country. When foreign dynasties like the Śaṅgamas, the Śāḷuvas, the Tuḷuvas and the Āravīḍus imposed their rule they had to protect themselves with a body of people who would be ever ready to serve them in their wars and so they were granted lands.[6] Those who held lands from the king were called Amaranāyakas and their territory was known as amaram or nāyakkattāṇam. In many of the inscriptions of the Vijayanagar rulers the term Nāyaṇkara is used. This is only an abbreviation of the full term

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[4] Ibid. pp. 384–89 and Dr. T. V. Mahalingam. S. I. P. pp. 324–25.

[5] Sewell. op. cit., p. 379.

[6] Dr. T. V. Mahalingam. op. cit., p. 195.

Amaranāyaṇkara. It is composed of three syllables, Amara, Nāyaka and Kara. Amara literally means a command of a thousand foot-soldiers.[7] It is, however, taken to mean a grant of land by the king to a Nāyaka or Palaiyagar on condition of service either military or police. Nāyaka was the name of the military chief who held land from the king and probably they were called by Paes and Nuniz as captains or lords, Kara probably meant an office. Therefore the term Amaranāyaṇkara may be regarded to refer to a piece of land yielding a fixed revenue granted to a military chief by the Rāyas of Vijayanagar.[8] Nearly 3/4 of the lands in the Tamiḻ country were held by military chiefs on this tenure. The holding of an amaranāyaka is described as amaramākāṇi or amaramahale.[9]

The villages in the Tamiḻ country during the Vijayanagar period could be grouped under three headings. They were (1) The Bhaṇḍāravāḍa villages or crown lands, (2) The Amara villages and (3) The māṇya or Iṇām villages.[10] Of these, the Amara villages were held by the Nāyakas under a military tenure and at the sweet will and pleasure of the king. A Nāyaka might at any time be deprived of his holding and his village or villages be converted into crown lands. The Nāyakas formed the intermediary between the government and the ryot. The most important duty which the Nāyaka had to perform was to provide for the defence of the kingdom. He had to pay generally half of the revenues from his nāyakkattāṇam to the provincial or the Central government and with the other half he had to maintain a fixed number of foot-soldiers, horses and elephants which he must provide to the Central government in times of war. These Nāyakas were also allowed to erect forts within their territory and according to the Rāyavachakam, they were holding the forts of Chandragiri, Māttūr, Śōṇagiri, Tiriśirapura, Kuṉṉattūr, Vallamkōṭṭai, Madura, Pāḷayamkōṭṭai, Śatiyavīḍu and Nārāyaṇavaṉam in the Tamiḻ country.[11]

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[7] Tamiḻ Lexicon. Vol. I. p. 202.

[8] Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, Studies. p. 179.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid.

This nāyankara system or the feudal arrangement in the Tamiḻ country seems to have been in existence from the time of the conquest of the region by Kumāra Kampaṇā. An inscription from the Madras Museum dated 4th may 1371 registers the gift of a village to a temple by one Timmayya Nāyaka.[12] Two Nāyakas namely Āḷavānda Nāyaka and Bābu Nāyaka are mentioned during the reign of Harihara II and during the viceregal period of Virupaṇṇa Uḍaiyār, An inscription from Māṉāmadi (Chingleput Dt.) dated January 1379 mentions that Srigirinādar, son of Bābu Nāyaka constructed, the mahāmaṇḍapa in the temple.[13] During the period of Dēvarāya I and the governorship of Vīravijaya Bhūpati, we have the names of Nāgayya Nāyaka and Gaṅga Nāyaka. An Inscription from Vayalūr (N. A. Dt.) mentions that the above two Nāyakas gave away the amount realised by the sale of fish for repairing the local irrigation tank.[14]

According to a record from Āḍuturai (Tanjore Dt.) dated 1—2—1440, one Dēvaṇṇa Nāyaka made the gift of a village to the temple for the merit of Lakkaṇa Daṇḍāyaka, the governor of the Tamiḻ country during the reign of Dēvarāya II.[15] An inscription from Kaṇṇanūr (Trichy Dt.)

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11. Ibid. p. 170–171.
12. 511 of 1913.
13. 230 of 1931.
14. 424 of 1922.
15. 26 of 1913.

dated A. D. 1427 mentions one Kaṭṭabomma Nāyaka, the Mahāśamantatipati, who granted the village of Śirukaḷḷikkuḍi which was his Jivita for the revival of worship in the temple.[16] We are able to get the names of two Nāyakas during the reign of Mallikārjuṉa. A record from Kōvilūr dated 21st July 1455 mentions one Timmappa Nāyaka who gave a village near Rājagambīraṉmalai to the temple of Tirumūla Nāyanār for the victory of the king.[17] No. 212 of 1912 from Nañjaitalai in Coimbatore district dated A.D. 1459 mentions one Kampayya Nāyaka who made a gift of land for a daily worship in the temple.

During the period of Virupāksha and Śāḷuva Narasimha the names of several Nāyakas are mentioned in inscriptions. An undated record from Paḷaṅkōil (N. A, Dt.) mentions one *Mugappāvāḍai* Rāmayya Nāyaka.[18] Another Nāyaka with the above prefix was one Nāgama Nāyaka who is mentioned in an inscription from Attuvaṉpāḍi in the same district, dated 25th January 1488.[19] From Srimushṇam (S. A. Dt.) comes a record dated 16th June, 1485 and it mentions that one Nāgayya Nāyaka assigned the taxes due from the village of Neḍuñjēri situated in his amarāmāgāṇi for worship and repairs to the temple.[20] An undated record from Tirukkachūr (Chingleput Dt.) mentions one Nāgama Nāyaka a subordinate of Śāḷuva Narasiṅga.[21] The region around Kāñchipuram was the nāykkattāṉam of one Aṉṉama Nāyaka according to an inscription from Teṉṉēri (Chingleput Dt.) dated A. D. 1474.[22] In A. D. 1501 this Aṉṉama Nāyaka had made some provision to the Vishṇu temple at Aragālur (Salem Dt.) for the victory of Śvāmi Narasā Nayakā.[23] A feudal vassal of Aṇṇama Nāyaka was one Tammayya Nāyaka according to a record dated A. D. 1502,[24] In Devikapuram (N. A. Dt.) there were two Nāyakas namely Tirumalai Nāyaka and Iśvara Nāyaka.[25]

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[16] 143 of 1936.

[17] 240 of 1912.

[18] 357 of 1925.

[19] 93 of 1941.

[20] 238 of 1916.

[21] 318 of 1919.

[22] 244 of 1922.

Under Immadi Narasimha and Narasā Nāyaka one Ekkappa Nāyaka and his son are mentioned in an inscription from Palasur (N. A. Dt.) dated February 1497. In South Arcot and parts of Salem district a very benevolent feudal vassal called Eramañchi Tulukkāṇa Nāyaka is mentioned in four inscriptions during the years 1504 to 1509.[26] A record from Vaṇḍalur (near Madras) dated A. D. 1500 refers to one Bommu Nāyaka who was the daḷavay of Narasā Nāyaka.[27] No. 339 of 1940 mentions that one Kēśavarāya Nāyaka had the village of Tiruvūr (Chingleput Dt.) as his nāyakkattāṇam. An inscription from Teḷḷāru mentions Iśvara Nāyaka and his brother Tirumalai Nāyaka making gifts to the temple.[2] Tumbichi Nāyaka, son of Eraliṅgama Nāyaka, Eppuli Nāyaka and Tikkaṇa Nāyaka were the feudal lords among whom the present Rāmnāḍ district was divided as nāyakkattāṇams during the reign of Immadi Narasimha.[29]

Nāyakas during the reign of Kṛishṇadēvarāya in the Tamiḷ country:

A record from Cheyyār (N. A. Dt.) dated 24th January, 1510 mentions that one Rāmappa Nāyaka collected the tax

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23. 445 of 1913.
24. 450 of 1913.
25. 357 and 395 of 1912.
26. 411, 412 and 420 of 1913 and 118 of 1919.
27. 35 of 1935.
28. 62 of 1935.
29. 178 of 1936, 139 of 1903, 195, 212, and 213 of 1924.

called jōḍi from the temples within his jurisdiction.[30] Tirumalai Nāyaka, Śādāśiva Nāyaka and Harihara Nāyaka were given facilities by the king for bringing waste lands under cultivation in A. D. 1519.[31] A record from Tiruvaṇṇāmalai refers to the fact that one Chiṇṇappa Nāyaka bought the village of Seṅgamputtēri from the trustees of the temple and bestowed it to the temple in the name of Kṛishṇadēvarāya.[32] Tirukkaḷukkuṉṟam (Chingleput Dt.) and its environs were given by Kṛishṇadēvarāya as a nāyakkattāṇam to one Koṇḍayyadēva Chōḷa Mahārāja.[33] The region forming the Poṇṇēri taluk was the nāyakkattāṇam of two persons named Perumukkil Nāyaka and Mirutuñjaya Nāyaka.[34] The Pooṇamallee area (near Madras) was the nāyakkattānam of one Bālayya Nāyaka about A. D. 1525.[35]

The names ef six Nāyakas are mentioned in inscriptions available from South Arcot district. A Gaṅgapuram record mentions one Kaṭṭaiya Nāyaka.[36] The region around Tiṇḍivaṇam was the nāyakkattāṇam of one Tirumalai Nāyaka according to a record dated A. D. 1512.[37] Villupuram and its surroundings was the nāyakkattāṇam of one Śāḷuvā Aryadēva Nāyaka in about A. D. 1514.[38] Señji taluk was the amaram of one Timmappa Nāyaka who repaired the breaches in the irrigation tank in A. D. 1522.[39] Parts of Tirukkōyilūr taluk seems to have been the nāyakkattāṉam of one Chiṉṉappa Nāyaka.[40] Three other Nāyakas mentioned in the records available in South Arcot district are Kāḷattīśvara Nāyaka, Kamu Nāyaka and Virupanna Nāyaka.[41] Erāmañchi Tulukkāṇa Nāyaka who was a contemporary of Vīra Narasimha held parts of South Arcot and Salem districts as his nāyakkattāṉam in the early part of Kṛishṇadēvarāya's reign. He was succeeded by his son Akki Timmappa Nāyaka according to a record dated A. D. 1514.[42] The villages around Tiruchengōḍu (Salem Dt.) were allotted to one Triyambaka Uḍaiyār as nāyakkattāṉam.[43]

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[30] 144 of 1940.
[31] 352, 353 and 1358 of 1912.
[32] 104 and 183 of 1942.
[33] 117 of 1933.
[34] 168 of 1930.
[35] 300 of 1939.
[36] 575 of 1938.
[37] 35 of 1905
[38] 13 of 1922
[39] 319 of 1921.

In A. D. 1511 one Virayya Daṉṉāyaka is mentioned in a record from Śendalai (Tanjore Dt.). He made a gift of land to the temple for the victory of Kṛishṇadēvarāya.[44] Vāśal Mallappa Nāyaka seems to have held a fief in Tanjore district and he had made a gift of land to the temple of Śūryadēva at Aṉbil in A. D. 1517.[45] One Peddappa Nāyaka was the treasury officer of the king in Tiruchirāppaḷḷi uśāvadi and his son Timmappa Nāyaka is mentioned in a record from Srirangam dated A. D. 1523.[46] In A.D. 1519 this Timmappa Nāyaka gave twelve velis of land to the Śivā temple at Tiruvāṉaikka.[47] From a Kuḍimiyamalai record dated A. D. 1523 we hear about one Rāghava Nāyaka, son of Tippu Nāyaka.[48] The region around Tirupputtūr in Rāmnād district was the nāyakkattāṇam of one Siṅgama Nāyaka according to a record dated A. D. 1510.[49] The city of Madura and its surroundings was the nāyakkattāṇam of one Vairayya Daṇḍanāyaka.[50]

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[40] 219 of 1935.

[41] 44, 100 and 102 of 1919.

[42] 409 of 1913.

[43] 138 and 140 of 1915.

[44] 213 of 1926.

[45] 230 of 1927.

[46] 68 of 1939.

[47] 105 of 1937.

[48] P. S. I. No. 741.

Duties and Responsibilities of the Amaranāyakas:

The Amaranāyakas had to pay a fixed annual financial contribution to the emperor for the lands which they held from him. Paes says, "Each captain has to make his annual payment to the king."[51] But, Nuniz mentions that the Nāyakas had to pay the revenue every month and the revenue was fixed during the first nine days of the month of September.[52] The latter version is ambiguous and Nuniz is not clear when he says that the Nāyakas paid the revenue every month. However, it is certain that the Nāyakas paid a certain amount of revenue to the king. But we do not know whether they paid it directly into the imperial treasury at Vijayanagar or deposited it with the provincial viceroys. Another debatable point about this feudal revenue was the amount which they paid. According to Nuniz the Nāyakas seem to have paid half of their gross income to the king. "The lands, they say, yield a hundred and twenty lakhs of which they (captains) must pay sixty to the king and the rest they retain for the pay of the soldiers and the expenses of the elephants which they are obliged to maintain."[53] The Nāyakas seem to have collected 9/10 of the gross produce of the lands from the tenants and so the sufferings of the peasants were many.[54] These statements of Nuniz have not been corroborated by Paes, and in the absence of contrary evidences we have to take that Nuniz spoke about the actual state of affairs. Paes simply says that the king fixed the revenue according to the income of the Nāyakas.[55]

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[49] 91 of 1908.

[50] 90 of 1929.

[51] F. E. P. 281.

[52] Ibid. p. 389.

[53] R. Sewell. Op. cit., p. 373.

[54] Ibid. p. 379.

Secondly, the Nāyakas had to provide the king with a certain number of infantry, cavalry and elephants in times of war. Nuniz mentions that the number of foot soldiers and horsemen supplied by the Nāyakas amounted to 600,000 men and 24,000 horses and he also mentions that there were more than two hundred captains (Nāyakas) in the empire. On an average each Nāyaka might be said to have contributed 3000 men and 120 horses and about the number of elephants we have no clear and definite information. These men, horses and also the elephants, if any, were maintained by the Nāyakas at their own expense. The Nāyakas were required to buy their horses from the king at the rate of five per thousand pagodas according to Nuniz.[56] But Paes differs from Nuniz when he says that the captains of the empire had to maintain a million soldiers. Perhaps, he included the number of soldiers supplied by the subordinate rulers also. But, he showers an encomium on the bravery and discipline of the feudal levies when he says, "These troops are always ready for duty whenever they may be called out and wherever they may have to go; and in this way he (the king) has this million of fighting men always ready. Each of these captains labours to turn out the best troops he can get because he pays them their salaries; and in this review there were the finest young men possible to be seen or that ever could be seen, for in all this array, I did not see a man that would act the coward.[57] But we have to think twice before we accept this statement of Paes when we take into account the several reverses which the Vijayanagar forces suffered in their encounters with the Muslim armies of the Deccan.

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[55] Ibid. p. 280.

[56] F. E. p. 381.

[57] Ibid. p. 281.

On certain ceremonial occasions like the birth of a son or daughter to the king, the Nāyakas were expected to give valuable presents to the king. Paes mentions, "Whenever a son happens to be born to this king, or a daughter, all the nobles of the kingdom offer him great presents of money and jewels of price, and so they do to him every year on the day of his birth."[58] Paes had mistaken the Deepāvaḷi festival for the New year day and his description of it corresponds to the Deepāvaḷi festival and he mentions that the nobles paid to the king on the Deepāvaḷi day nearly 15 lakhs of pagodas as presents.[59] The Nāyakas were also expected to send to the king every day rice, wheat, meat and fowls with all other necessary things.[59(a)]

The Nāyakas had to maintain two officers at the imperial headquarters. One of them was the military agent who was in charge of the feudal army which was maintained at the capital.[60] This officer had to attend the court of the king and each Nāyaka had his military representative at the court. These military agents of the Nāyakas were mistaken by Nuniz to the Nāyakas themselves. Therefore, he wrote "During the king's feasts and the almsgiving to his temples all these captains who are thus like renters, must always attend the court and of those whom this king always has about him; there are more than two hundred........ These nobles are never suffered to settle in cities or towns because they would there be beyond the reach of his hand.'[60] But Paes disagreed with Nuniz when he wrote, "These captains are the nobles of the kingdom; they are lords and hold the city, and the towns and villages of the kingdom."[61] Obviously, Nuniz seems to have confused himself between the Nāyakas who were expected to be in their nāyakkattāṉams and their military agents at the imperial capital who were not allowed to go home since they served as the agents and hostages of their lords.[62]

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[58] Ibid.

[59] Ibid. p. 282.

[59(a)] F. E. p. 371.

[60] Dr. T. V. Mahalingam. Adm. and Soc. Life. p. 197.

Another officer whom the Nāyakas maintained at the imperial court was the sthāṉapati or civil agent. His main duty was to safeguard the interests of his master at the capital. We know from Nuniz about the functions of this sthāṉapati. He says, "The captains and lords of this kingdom of Bisnaga as well as those who are at court as those who are away from it, have each one his secretary who goes to the palace in order to write to him and let him know what the king is doing; and they manage so, that nothing takes place of which they do not soon know and day and night they are always in the palace."[63] It could be inferred that by means of these two agents of the Nāyakas, the Vijayanagar rulers controlled them in the distant provinces and that they formed the link between the Central government and the Provincial government on the one hand and between the central and local organisation on the other.

The Nāyakas had several important responsibilities. They were regarded as guardians of peace and they were entrusted with the task of detecting crime and dispensing justice in the rural areas. Their police duties were known as *pāḍikāval* or *araśukāval*. Generally, these duties seem to have been delegated by the Nāyakas to local leaders. Clearance of forests, extension and improvement of irrigation and agriculture and the maintenance of peace and order in the economic activities of the village people were some of the important responsibilities of the Nāyakas.[64]

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[61] F. E. p. 280.
[62] Dr. T. V. Mahalingam. Op. cit., p. 198.
[63] F. E. p. 374.

If any of the Nāyakas failed to conform to the above conditions and conventions, they were subject to punishment. According to Nuniz the estates of the Nāyakas were confiscated and the Nāyakas were severely punished, if they did not maintain and supply the required number of soldiers or pay tribute according to their contract with the king.[65] "If they (Nāyakas) do no not pay (tribute), they are well punished and ruined and their property taken away."[66] Duarte Barbosa confirms the statement of Nuniz and gives a graphic description of the manner in which the king punished the disloyal Nāyakas. "The king chastises him in words as thoroughly as he deserves and besides this, takes from him half of his revenues." Barbosa also mentions that the Nāyak was stripped of his dress and given severe beating by the king himself.[67] But this drastic corporal punishment given to the Nāyakas is not alluded to by other writers. Therefore, Longworth Dames regards the account of Barbosa as an improbable story.[67(a)]

The Nāyakas enjoyed the privilege of being carried in palanquins by their servants led by mounted feudal tenants. Barbosa mentions that the Nāyaka came to the capital in rich litters borne by their followers. The king used to give them presents of rich clothes and they were allowed to return to their headquarters with great pomp and pageantry.[68]

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[64] Dr. T. V. Mahalingam. Op. cit., p. 197.

[65] F. E. p. 374,

[66] Ibid. p. 389.

[67] Barbosa. p. 209.

[67(a)] Ibid. p. 209. F. N.

Relative position of the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras and the Nāyakas:

It will be appropriate at this juncture to point out the actual relations between the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras and the Nāyakas. The Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara of a rājya was the representative of the king in that area and ruled over it on his behalf. He was the viceroy of the emperor. But the Nāyaka was only a military vassal who was assigned an *amaram* or nāyakkattāṉam so that he could discharge his financial and military duties to the emperor.[1] The Nāyaka had to pay tribute to the overlord which, was, at first, half of the total income from the fief assigned to him. He had also to provide the central government with a fixed number of foot, horses and elephants according to the income or his estate. The Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara had no such obligations and naturally they were in the provinces to control the Nāyakas and to see that they paid their tributes regularly and maintained the feudal forces according to the contract either written or oral. It could also be maintained that the governors were there to see that the Nāyakas continued to be loyal to the king and performed their duties well.

The governors were appointed to administer a particular rājya for a definite period and were liable to be transferred to some other province. But the Nāyaka was given a feudal fief as his *amaram* and was not transferred from it. Sometimes he was deprived of his estate because he failed to abide by the terms on which he was allotted the amaṟam.

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[68] Ibid.

[1] Dr. T. V. Mahalingam. S. I. P. p. 323.

"Comparatively speaking, the Nāyaka appears to have enjoyed greater freedom in his nāyakkattāṇam and the internal administration of the estate was not interfered with by the king."[2] The Nāyakas were responsible for the clearance of forests, improvement of irrigation and agriculture within his amaram. They were even allowed to distribute the lands within their nāyakships to their subordinates. For example, a record from Tiṇḍivanam mentions that one Tirumalai Nāyaka made a gift of land to one Appili in A. D. 1512.[3] Chiṇṇappa Nāyaka of Arakaṇḍanallūr gave the village of Araśantaṅgal to one Ēkāmbaranātha on a feudal basis.[4] Akki Timmayya Nāyaka, the son of Tulukkāṇa Nāyaka granted a piece of land to a private individual for his services in his fort.[5] The Nāyakas were also allowed to found villages in their names and to make gifts to the temples according to their discretion. In A. D. 1513 Akki Timmayya Nāyaka founded a chaturvēdimaṅgalam in his name and that of his father.[6] A record from Śendalai (Tanjore Dt.) mentions that one Vīrayya Nāyaka made a grant of land to the temple for the victory of king Kṛishṇadēva in A. D. 1511.[7] Timmappa Nāyaka of Trichinopoly remitted several of his feudal incomes in favour of the Śivā temple at Tiruvāṇaikka in A. D. 1512.[8] A record from Madura dated 1516 mentions that a sacred tank was excavated by one Śāḷuva Narasā Nāyaka as a gift of king Kṛishṇadēvarāya.[9]

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[2] Ibid. p. 323.

[3] No. 35 of 1905.

[4] 219 of 1935.

[5] 428 of 1913.

[6] 409 and 403 of 1913.

[7] 213 of 1926.

[8] 107 of 1937.

[9] 161 of 1938.

The governorship of the provinces was not a hereditary office. But, the Nāyakship though personal and temporary to begin with, became a hereditary one when the central government became weak and inefficient after the battle of Tālikōṭa. During the reign of Krishnadēvarāya, a momentous change seems to have been introduced in the provincial administration which changed the name and character of both the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras and the Nāyakas. This was due to the fact that Vīra Narasimha, the elder brother of Kṛiṣhṇadēvarāya brought about a *coup d'etat* by which Immadi Narasimha was assassinated and then he usurped the throne. As a result, there arose a great commotion throughout the empire and many nāyakas revolted against the authority of Vīra Narasimha. Nuniz alludes to this fact when he says, "Busubāl Rao (Vīra Narasimha) inherited this kingdom.... .... and reigned six years during which he was always at war; for as soon as his father was dead, the whole land revolted under its captains." But, Vīra Narasimha quelled the rebellion of the Nāyakas and confiscated their estates.[10]

When Kṛiṣhṇadēvarāya ascended the throne with the help of Śāḷuva Timma who saved his master's life by a clever stratagem, he found that the provincial governments and the Nāyakas in the Tamiḻ country were not favourably disposed towards the central government. The Rāya seems to have adopted a conciliatory attitude towards the provincial governors and the Nāyakas.

According to the Mackenzie MSS, Kṛiṣhṇadēvarāya had to send an expedition into the Tamiḻ country to pacify the nāyakas and to strengthen their loyalty to the central government.[11] Nārayanakone, the author of Karnāṭaka Rājakkaḷ

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[10] R. Sewell. op. cit., p. 314.

[11] C. S. Srinivasachari. History of Gingee. p. 80.

Śavistāra Charitam mentions that during the reign of Kṛishṇadēvarāya, the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam region was divided among several petty nāyakas who refused to acknowledge the authority of the emperor. Therefore, he had to send a large army under four leaders namely Vaiyappa Nāyaka, Tubāki Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka, Vijayarāghava Nāyaka and Veṅkaṭādri Nāyaka. The army seems to have encamped at first, near Vellore and the chiefs of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam agreed to pay tribute. Vāiyappa Nāyaka was said to have fixed the tribute which the Nāyakas had to pay. From Vellore, the imperial army proceeded to Śeñji where a second conference was held with the nāyakas by which the tributes from the nāyakas of Chōḻamaṇḍalam were fixed. Finally, the whole Tamiḻ region was divided into three distinct nāyakships instead of rājyas. The first of these divisions was that of Śeñji which extended from Nellore in the north to the river Coleroon in the south and this was entrusted to Vaiyappa Nāyaka and his son Tubāki Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka who thus became the inaugurators of the Señji nāyakship. The second division was the fertile region watered by the river Kavēri and was entrusted to one Vijayarāghava Nāyaka who resided at Tanjore. The third was the whole country south of the river Kāvēri which was assigned to Veṅkatappa Nāyaka who made Madura his head-quarters.[12]

Thus, instead of rājyas under Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras, the Nāyakships under Amaranāyakas came into existence during the reign of Kṛishṇadēvarāya. The subordinate nāyakas came to be called Pāḷaiyagārs since they had to supply pāḷaiyams or military forces to the central government through the chief nāyakas. The burden of tribute which the nāyakas had to pay seems to have been reduced from one half of the gross income of the feudal fief to one third. This pāḷaiyam system or the feudal organisation was worked out in detail and converted into a useful and benificial institution by Viśvanātha Nāyaka of Madura and his able minister Ariyanātha Mudaliyār, in about A. D. 1535.[13]

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[12] Taylor. Catalogue Raissone. Vol. III. p. 39.

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[13] The Nāyaks of Madura. pp. 58-61.

CHAPTER — IX

BATTLE OF TĀMBRAPARAṆI

An inscription from Kāḷahasti dated 27th July 1532, mentions that the coronation of Achyutarāya was celebrated in the year Virōdhi, Kārttigai, ba, pañchami, in the presence of the Lord at Kāḷahasti. The astronomical details furnished above enable us to fix the date of Achyutarāya's coronation at Kāḷahasti on 20th November 1529. The record also mentions king Achyuta's levy of tribute from the Tiruvadi ruler of Travancore, his sub-jugation of Śāḷuva Nāyaka and Tumbichi Nāyaka and the planting of a pillar of victory on the banks of the river Tāmbraparaṇi.[1] One day, after his coronation, Achyutarāya's minister waited on him in the palace called Vēṅkatavilāsa at Vijayanagar and submitted a report on the affairs of the empire. He said that Śellappa, the governor of the Chōḷa country had revolted and after being defeated in battle escaped from his province and had taken refuge with the ruler of Travancore. Śellappa and the ruler of Travancore had declared war on the Pāṇḍya ruler and driven him out of his ancestral territories. The minister requested the king Achyuta to protect the Pāṇḍya who was an exile from his kingdom and to punish Śellappa and the Tiruvaḍi ruler for their revolt.[2]

The questions which we have to raise and answer are:

Who was the minister who informed Achyuta about the revolt of Śellappa? Who was this Śellappa and why did he revolt against Achyutarāya? Why did Tumbichi Nāyaka and the Tiruvaḍi ruler of Travancore help him? When and where did the battle between the imperial forces and those of the rebels take place? These are interesting and important problems in the history of Vijayanagar rule in the Tamiḻ country and their solution will throw a flood of light on the history of this period.

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[1] No. 157 of 1924.

[2] Achyutarāyabhyūdayam. Sources. pp. 158–159.

Who was the minister who informed Achyuta about the revolt of Śellappa?

Says Nuniz, "After his (Kṛishṅarāya's) death Śalvany became minister of the kingdom and governed it till the coming of king Achitarao from the fortress of Chemdegary (Chandragiri) where he was detained."[3] Robert Sewell thought that this Śālvany (Śāḷuva Nāyak) was a member of the family of Śaḷuva Timma, the famous minister of Kṛishṇadēvarāya.[4] But, we must know that Śālvany was Vīra Narasimha *Ś*āḷuva Nāyaka alias Śellappa or Chellappa according to both inscriptional and literary evidences. Since this Vīra Narasimha *Ś*āḷuva Nāyaka was the rebel himself, he could not have informed Achyuta about it. The minister who requested Achyuta to send an army against the rebel *Ś*āḷuva Nāyaka must have been a different person. It was Śālakarāju Periya Tirumaladēva, the brother-in-law of Achyuta and the brother of his queen Varadāmbika.

Before he died, Kṛishṇadēvarāya had nominated his half-brother Achyuta as his successor though he had a son of eighteen months old.[5] Āravīṭṭi Rāmarāya, the son-in-law of Kṛishṇadēvarāya, led the opposition against Achyuta supported by his two brothers. Encouraged by the two widowed queens of Kṛishṇarāya, Rāmarāya, seems to have enthroned the infant son of Kṛishṇarāya as the emperor of Vijayanagar.

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[3] R. Sewell. F. E. p. 367.

[4] Ibid. p. 165.

[5] N. Venkataramanayya. F. S. p. 235.

But, this opposition was crushed by the two brothers-in-law of Achyuta, Śāḷakarāju (Pedda and Chiṉṉa) Tirumaladēvas.[6] These brothers were the sons of one Śālakarāju and Tippajāmma and were closely related to the Tuḷuva royal family and their sister Varadāmbika or Varadadēvi was the queen of Achyutarāya.[7]

Śālakarāju Periya (Pedda) Tirumaladēva:

He is mentioned in more than ten inscriptions of Achyutarāya's period. The earliest of these records is dated 2nd November 1530 and enumerates his charities at Koṇḍavīḍu (Guntur Dt.).[8] An inscription from Santava Kōvūru (Cuddappah Dt.) dated 5th February 1~~9~~533, mentions that the region around Kōvūru was ruled over by Śālakarāju Pedda Tirumalarāja.[9] No. 681 of 1922 from Hospet mentions him as the pradhana Tirumalarāja. Another record from Cuddappah district, dated 22nd November 1539 mentions Pedda Tirumala as the brother-in-law of Achyuta in Cherumurusīma which was the nāyakkattāṉam granted to him by the king.[10] Three inscriptions from Sriraṅgam mention his several gifts to the temple. The first of them dated 2nd November 1534 registers his gift of the village of Vaḍavēṟkuḍi for the merit of one Anantāmma.[11] The second record dated 2nd December 1535 mentions that Periya Tirumaladēva belonged to the śūryavamsa and his wife was called Periya Kōṇamma.[12] According to the third record Periya Tirumala made the gift of a pendant to God Raṅganātha on 22nd November 1538.[13] The Annals of Haṇḍe Anantapuram mention him as the treasurer of Achytarāya.[14]

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[6] N. Venkataramanayya. Studies. p. 12.

[7] 59 of 1912.

[8] 347 of 1933.

[9] 479 of 1906.

[10] 325 of 1941.

[11] 70 of 1939.

[12] 3 of 1939.

Chiṇṇa Tirumala was the younger brother of Śālakarāju Periya Tirumaladēva. He is mentioned in an inscription from Elavānāśur (S. A. Dt.) dated 7th march 1532. Two villages were clubbed together and were given to one Varadarāja Śarasvati Dīkshita of Elavānāśur by king Achyuta for the merit of Chiṇṇa Tirumaladēva.[15] No. 114 of 1923 from Dīmal (Chingleput Dt.) dated 6th May 1532 mentions that a private individual made a dēvadāṇa gift of land for the merit of Chiṇṇa Tirumaladēva. About A. D. 1533 he seems to have been appointed Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara of the Tamil̤ country according to an inscription from Tirukkōyilūr dated 24th January 1533. In obedience to an order issued by king Achyuta to Chiṇṇa Tirumala a Telugu-Chōḍa chieftain named Bhōgayyadēva Mahārāja made a gift of house-sites to the temple servants at Tirukkōyilūr.[16] Again, in the same year, Chiṇṇa Tirumala made a gift of money for offerings and lamp service to the Śiva temple at Tiruvaḍiśūlam (Chingleput Dt.) for the merit of the king.[17] From Kūṇimēḍu (S. A. Dt.) comes a record dated A. D. 1533 and it mentions that an agent of Chiṇṇa Tirumaladēva Mahārāja made a gift of taxes to the temple.[18] Three records from Tirunāvalur, Villiyanūr and Tiṇḍivaṇam respectivelly mention Chiṇṇa Tirumalarāja as the governor of the Tamil̤ country from 1535 to 1543.[19]

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[13] 40 of 1939.

[14] Sources. p. 178.

[15] 40 of 1939.

[16] 356 of 1921. ✓

[17] 337 of 1908.

[18] 241 of 1904.

[19] Nos. 266 of 1940, 201 of 1937 and 33 of 1905.

Of these two brothers who was the minister of Achyuta who informed him of the revolt of Śāḷuva Nāyaka Śellappa? Most probably it was Tirumala the elder who is mentioned as the pradhāṇa of the king in a record from Hospet dated A. D. April 1535.[20]

Who was Śāluva Nāyaka (Śellappa) and why did he revolt against Achyutarāya?

The early relations between Śellappa Śāḷuva Nāyaka and Achyutarāya are shrouded in mystery. The theory of Robert Sewell that Śellappa was closely related to the family of Śāḷuva Timma, the minister of Kṛishṇadēvarāya is untenable since none of the inscriptions mention the fact. Śellappa was a Tamiḷian brahmin officer of Kṛishṇadevarāya and his father was called Taḻuvakkuḻaindaṉ Bhaṭṭaṉ, a Dēvakaṇmi of the temple of Ēkāmbaranātha at Kāñchi.[21] He was also known as Śāḷuva Vīra Narasimha Nāyaka and it seems that he had entered the service of Kṛishṇadēvarāya in A. D. 1510. In two records from Tirupputtūr in Rāmnāḍ district dated A. D. 1510 he is mentioned as "Lord prosperous Śellappar" and two villages Nārāyaṇamaṅgalam and Kāraiyūr were joined together with the single name of Śellappapuram and given to the Śivā temple there.[22]

In A. D. 1511 Kṛishṇadēvarāya made a gift of the village of Kuṉṟattur (Chingleput Dt.) to Śellappa. In 1514 some lands in the village of Māṅgāḍu (Tanjore Dt.) were given to the temple for the merit of Śellappa by Kṛishṇadēvarāya.[23] He was also called Kāñchipuravaradīśvara and

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[20] 681 of 1922.

[21] 487 of 1920 and 25 of 1916. Taḻuvakkuḻaindāṉ is one of the sacred names of Lord Ekambaranātha of Kāñchi Dēvakaṇmi means a temple officer.

[22] 91 and 92 of 1908.

[23] 361 of 1908.

Śvāmi Śellappar and these titles show his importance during the reign of Kṛishṇadēvarāya.[24]

Nuniz regarded Śellappa as the most powerful and influential of the provincial governors and minister of Achyutarāya. In his own words, "Salvanayque" the present minister, has a revenue of a million and a hundred gold pardaos. He is lord of Charamaodel and of Nagapatao and Tamgor (Tanjore) and Bomgarin (Bhuhvanagiri) and Dapatao and Truguel (Tirukkōyilūr and Caullim (Kollam) and all these are cities; their territories are very large and they border on Ceylon. Of this money, he is obliged to give a third to the king and two-thirds remain for him for the expenses of his lascaris and horses which he is obliged to maintain for the king-thirty thousand foot and three thousand horse and thirty elephants.[25]

This prominent position was enjoyed by Śellappa even during the reign of Kṛiṣhṇadāvarāya. Seven other inscriptions of the period in addition to those already mentioned, testify to the power and great influence of Śellappa. The supreme power which he exercised in the Tamiḻ country is alluded to in two inscriptions from Tirumayam (Pudūkkottai). One of the records mentions that he made a gift of land to the Viṣhṇu temple at Tirumayam without the previous permission of the king. The document is signed by the donor himself without any reference to the suzerain.[26] An inscription from Tiruvaraṅgulam mentions him as the powerful Vīra Narasiṅgarāya Nāyakkar.[27] Several records from Dēvikāpuram, Taiyūr and Uḷavūr refer to his

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24. 177 of 1936.
25. R. Sewell. F. E. pp. 384–85
26. 399 of 1906.
27. 319.of 1914.

unquestioned authority in the Tamiḻ country during the reign of Kṛishṇadēvarāya.[28] His relations with Kṛishṇadēvārya were very cordial and he seems to have been a loyal subordinate. This is proved by an inscription from Achiruppākkam (Chingleput Dt.) dated A.D. 1529, which mentions that Vīra Narasimha Nāyaka made a gift of land for the merit of Kṛishṇadēvarāya on a lunar eclipse day.[29] Soon after the demise of Kṛishṇadēvarāya, it was the Śalakarāju Tirumala brothers and Śāḷuva Nāyaka Śellappa who were very helpful to Achyutarāya in maintaining himself on the throne of Vijayanagar. The military strength of Śāḷuva Nāyaka and the financial resources of Pedda Tirumala enabled Achyuta to hold his position against the machinations of Āravīṭṭi Rāmarāya and his brothers. Śāḷuva Nāyaka was in Vijayanagar when Kṛishṇadēvarāya died and he seems to have seized the throne on behalf of Achyutarāya and held it until the arrival of the latter from Chandragiri. The collaboration of the Śalakarāju brothers with Śāḷuva Nāyaka spoiled the attempts of Rāmarāya to secure the supreme power for himself.[30]

After helping Achyutarāya to become the emperor of Vijayanagar, Śellappa continued to be his loyal subordinate for two years from 1529 to 1531. Achyutarāya seems to have had great respect and regard for his saviour and his gratitude is expressed in an inscription dated A. D. 1529. The emperor made a gift of the village of Paṇaittāṇgal in Chingleput district to the Śivā temple at that place for the merit of Śellappa alias Śāḷuva Daṇṇāyaka.[31] This brotherly affection of the king towards a trustworthy officer had its own reciprocal loyalty and it is evident from a grant made by

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[28] 390 of 1912, 225 of 1916 and 22 of 1933.

[29] 233 of 1901.

[30] N. Venkataramanayya. Studies. p. 13.

[31] 256 of 1910.

Śellappa for the merit and prosperity of the king. An inscription from Paḷavantāṅgal (Chingleput Dt.) dated 4th November 1530 mentions the grant of two villages as dēvadāṉa to the temple of Śubramaṇya at Kōyembēdu for the merit of the king by the Mahāpradhāṇi, Śellappa Śāḷuva Nāyaka of Kāñchi.[32] That he was loyal to Achyutarāya is proved by another inscription from Pulal (Chingleput).[33]

Why did Śellappa rise in revolt against Achyuta?

We are not able to get an answer to this question either from inscriptional or literary sources of the period. Dr. Venkataramanayya advances two different reasons for the rebellion. One is that Śellappa resented the interference of the king in the internal affairs of administration and in the collection of a tax called jodi. But, subsequently he says, "This, however, does not seem to be an adequate cause for the outbreak of a serious rebellion."[34] The second cause put forward by Dr. Venkataramanayya is that Achyutarāya came to an agreement with Āraviṭṭi Rāmarāya and made him a partner in the administration of the empire. As Rāmarāya assumed the direction of the affairs of the state, Śāḷuva Nāyak lost most of his powers and probably his ministership. This deprivation of his office by Achyuta enraged Śāḷuva Nāyak so much that he retired to his province and being unable to bear the humiliation, he entered into a conspiracy with Tumbichi Nāyaka of Paramakkuḍi and the ruler of Travancore and set up the standard of rebellion.[35]

Obviously, the latter cause seems to be a more probable one for the revolt than the former. But we are not sure whether the agreement between Rāmarāya and Achyutarāya really brought about the downfall of Ṡellappa. It has been pointed out how Śellppa co-operated with the Sālakarāju brothers in consolidating the position of Achyuta and in paving the way for his accession to the throne. We know also that Śālakarāju Pedda Tirumala was the chief minister of Achyuta at the time of the rebellion of Śellappa.

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[32] 110 of 1941.

[33] 487 of 1927.

[34] Dr. Venkataramanayya. op. cit., pp. 25–6.

[35] Ibid. p. 27.

Though Dr. Venkataramanayya postulates an agreement between Achyuta and Rāmarāya, yet he does not substantiate such an assumption fully. When did Achyutarāya and Rāmarāya come to an agreement and what are its terms? We do not know. Therefore, there seems to have been no agreement or understanding between Rāmarāya and Achyuta. The initial obstacles raised by Rāmarāya against Achyuta by putting forward the claims of an infant son of Kṛishṇarāya to the Vijayanagar throne, disappeared soon after the accidental death of the child. As a result, Rāmarāya lost the stick with which he could beat Achyuta and there was no necessity for Achyuta to come to an agreement with Rāmarāya. Therefore, it was not the elevation of Rāmarāya to the ministership that brought about the downfall of Śellappa. On the other hand, the chief minister of Achyuta till A. D. 1539 was Śālakarāju Pedda Tirumala according to inscriptional evidences.[35(a)] It was the Śaḷakarāja Tirumala brothers who were responsible for ousting Śellappa from his influential position at Vijayanagar. We know from the Achutarāyabhyūdayam that it was Śālakaraju Tirumaladeva who reported to the king about the revolt and requested him to punish the rebel. Further, it was Śālakarāju Chiṇṇa Tirumala who led the army against Śellappa and his allies and he was said to have informed Achyuta at Sriraṅgam that his

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35. (a) 325 of 1941.

presence was quite unnecessary for defeating a miserable rebel like Śellappa.[36] The truth seems to be that the Śālakarāju brothers were no longer in need of the services of Śellappa in supporting the cause of Achyuta. His presence at the capital was even regarded by them as a potential danger. By their secret efforts, Śellappa must have been forced to quit the capital and return to his governorship in the Tamiḻ country. This, certainly, was a great insult to him and led him to rise in revolt.

Tumbichi Nāyaka of Paramakkuḍi:

The chieftain who helped Śaḷuva Nāyaka in his rebellion against Achyutarāya was Tumbichi Nāyaka of Paramakkuḍi. The earliest reference to the latter is found in an inscription dated A. D. 1504 from Tirupputtūr, Rāmnād district. It registers the gift of the veḷḷaippaḷḷam in Kāraiyūr-nāḍu, by Tumbichi Nāyaka, son of Eraliṅgaya Nāyaka of Variśaināḍu as Śarvamānya to one Iśānaśiva of Bhikshamaṭa (monastery).[37] He was in possession of the territory between Madura and Tinnevelly with Paramakkuḍi as his headquarters. The name Tumbichi seems to be the family title of the nāyakas of Paramakkuḍi and the founder of this nāyaka family seems to have been given this nāyakkattāṉam about A. D. 1409.[38] It was one Kumāraliṅga Tumbichi who was in power between A. D. 1502 and 1535. His Pāḷaiyam included Peraiyūr, Tummananāikkanpaṭṭi and three other villages. He was a restless and greedy soldier and was the most turbulent feudal chieftain of the period in the south. In him Sāḷuva Nāyaka found a capable colleague and a congenial ally.[39]

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36. Sources. p. 159.
37. 178 of 1936.
38. I. A. Vol. 43. p. 189. F. N.
39. Ibid.

The Tēṇkāśi Pāṇḍya ruler:

The Teṇkāśi Pāṇḍya ruler who was the contemporary of Achyutarāya was one Jaṭilavarmaṉ Srivallabha who bore the birudus of "Iṟandakālamedutta" and 'Pāṇdyarājyasthāpanāchārya' and he is also called Kulaśēkhara in some inscriptions.[40] He was a descendant of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara Parākrama Pāṇdyadēva who ruled from A. D. 1480 to 1507. It was this latter who was defeated and forced to acknowledge Vijayanagar rule by Narasā Nāyaka in A. D. 1497.[41] His successors were two brothers Abhirāma Parākrama and Āhavarāma according to the Puḍukottai plates. Nothing is known of these two rulers, and it is difficult to say when and how long they ruled.[42] The son of the latter, Āhavarāma, was Jaṭila Tirubhuvana Srivallabhadēva who was the contemporary of Achyutarāya. The Teṇkāśi kingdom under Srivallabha was conquered by the Tiruvaḍi ruler Udayamārtāṇḍavarmaṉ and therefore Srivallabha had to seek the help of Achyutarāya. There are twelve inscriptions of this Srivallabha Pāṇḍya in the present Tinnevelly district and the earliest is dated 29th April 1534.[43] He seems to have been re-instated as the Pāṇḍya ruler by Sālakarāju Chiṇṇa Tirumala after the battle of Tāmbraparaṇi. An inscription from Srivilliputtūr dated 13th June 1534 gives him the title of Bhuvanēkavīra and registers a tax-free gift of a village to the Sivā temple at Srivilliputtūr.[44] He ruled from A. D. 1534 to 1545 and the latest of his inscriptions are available from Paṇpuḷi in Tinnelvelly district. According to one of the records he was born in the asterism of Asvati and he made several gifts to the temple.[45]

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[40] T. A. S. Vol. I. p. 54.

[41] See chapter. VIII. infra.

[42] T. A. S. I. p. 54.

[43] 650 of 1017.

[44] 524 of 1926.

[45] 658 and 666 of 1917.

The Tiruvaḍi (Travancore) ruler who was the contemporary of Achyutarāya was Udayamārtāṇḍavarmaṉ. Mr. T. K. Velu Pillai thinks that he married a Chōḷa princess and so was called Puli Mārtāṇḍavarman since the tiger was the emblem of the Chōḷas.[46] But, there were no Chōḷa rulers during that period and it is probable that Sāḷuva Nāyaka himself was called a Chōḷa since he had been the governor of the Chōḷa country. Prof. Rangachari also thinks that Sāḷuva Nāyaka entered into a marriage alliance with Udayamārtāṇḍavarmaṉ by giving his daughter in marriage to him.[47] This Tiruvaḍi ruler waged war with the Pāṇḍya ruler Srivallabha, conquered large tracts of territory in Tinnevelly and assumed the title of "Veṉṟumaṉkoṇḍa Bhutalavīraṉ." He made Kaḷakkāḍ (Tinnevelly Dt.) his head-quarters in the Tamiḷ country and resided there for a considerable time, renovating temples at Ambāsamudrām, Mannārkoil and Kaḷakkāḍ and improving several villages. He seems to have been invading the Pāṇḍya territory as early as A. D. 1515. An inscription from Brahmadēśam (Tinnevelly Dt.) mentions that a gift of the village of Vēppaṇgulam was made for worship and repairs to the temple while Bhutalavīra Udayamārtāṇḍavarmaṉ was encamping there.[48] Another record from Kalliḍaikkurichi dated 27th April 1531 mentions a gift of land to the Śivā temple by the same ruler while he was staying at a place called Vaḷasey.[49] Thus, by a series of invasions from 1515 to 1531, the Tiruvaḍi ruler conquered a large portion of the territory belonging to Srivallabha who was a tributary of the Vijayanagar emperor. Further, Udayamārtāṇḍavarman refused to pay tribute to Vijayanagar which the Travancore rulers had been paying since the days of Dēvarāya II.

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46. T. S. M. Vol. II. p. 157.
47. I. A. Vol. 43. p. 189.
48. 374 of 1916.
49. 321 of 1916.

This conquest of the Pāṇḍya territory by the ruler of Travancore and his refusal to pay tribute made him a first rate enemy of Achyutarāya, and this enmity naturally led to an alliance between him and Śāḷuva Nāyaka. Prof. Rangachari observes, "Thus, there came into existence a powerful confederacy against Vijayanagar in the south – a chain of enemies from the Kāvēri to the very end of the peninsula. Śāḷuva Nāyaka guarded the districts on the banks of the Kāvēri, Tumbichi Nāyaka those on the banks of the Vaigai and Udayamārtāṇḍa assailed those on the banks of Tāmbraparaṇi.[50]

Progress of the rebellion:

Not much is known about the early stages of the rebellion of Śāḷuva Narasiṅga Nāyaka. Rājanātha Diṇḍima says that Śālakarāju Periya Tirumala informed Achyutarāya about the rebellions of Śellappa. He seems to have been defeated at first by the imperial army, but he escaped from his province and took refuge with the ruler of Travancore. Both of them, then declared war on the Pāṇḍya ruler and drove him out of his ancestral territories. The minister prayed the emperor to protect the Pāṇḍya who was an exile from his kingdom and to punish Śellappa and the Chēra ruler for their disloyalty and revolt.[51]

Great was the anger of Achyutarāya when he heard of the rebellious activities of Śāḷuva Nāyaka, Tumbichi Nāyaka and the Tiruvadi ruler and he sent for the commander of his army and then ordered him to make preparations for marching against the rebels. Though, the commander of the imperial forces was his younger brother-in-law, Śālakarāju Chiṇṇa Tirumala, yet Achyutarāya himself led the expedition to encourage the army and the commander. The king started from Vijayanagar and arrived at Chandragiri in a few days. The Achyutarāyabhyūdayam mentions that Achyuta ordered his army to stay at Chandragiri and went to worship Lord Venkatēśvara at Tirupati and Lord Śiva at Kāḷahasti. Then he marched with his army to Kāñchi where he weighed himself against pearls which were distributed for charity. While at Kāñchi several local chieftains waited on Achyuta with tributes and presents. Accompanied by them, the king marched towards Tiruvaṇṇāmalai. After worshipping the Lord at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai Achyuta entered the Chōḻa country and after a few days reached Sriraṅgam where he was said to have stayed till the end of the compaign.[52]

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[50] I. A. Vol. 43. p. 100.

[51] Sources. pp. 158–59.

Achyuta did not proceed personally against Śellappa and his confederates. Śālakarāju Chiṉṉa Tirumala informed the king that it was not necessary for His Majesty to lead the expedition against a petty chief like Śellappa and requested that he might be entrusted with the duty of subjugating the rebel. Śālakarāju Tirumala met with no opposition till he reached the river Tāmbraparaṇi. It is said that he marched past the city of Madura and encamped on the banks of the river Tāmbraparaṇi.[53] Then he commanded one of his subordinate officers to march against the Tiruvaḍi ruler. The Tiruvaḍi, Udayamārtāṇḍavarman, tried to bar the path of the enemy near the Aruvāymoli Pass. Here, a battle was fought in which the Tiruvaḍi was completely defeated.[54] Having been defeated in battle, the Tiruvaḍi with the remnant of his troops and the fugitive Śellappa, approached Śālakarāju Tirumala, acknowledged his defeat, handed over Śellappa and presented elephants and horses as tributes, The general accepted these for his soveregin and then reinstated Srivallabha Pāṇḍya at Teṉkāśi. Śālakarāju Chiṉṉa Tirumala was also said to have proceeded to Tiruvanandapuram where he worshipped Lord Padmanābha. From there, he was said to have proceeded to Rāmēśvaram and finally returned to Sriraṅgam.[55]

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[52] Achyutarayabhyudayam. Canto. V. Sources. p. 159,

[53] N. Venkataramanayya. Studies. p. 31.

[54] Ibid. p. 32.

Then, Śālakarāju Tirumala produced Udayamārtāṇḍavarmaṉ and Śellappa before the emperor and submitted a report of his expedition. Achyuta ordered his minister to punish the Tiruvaḍi ruler for having encroached upon the territory of the Pāṇḍya and confirmed the action of Chiṉṉa Tirumala in restoring the Pāṇḍya Srivallabha to his ancestral throne. It was on this occasion that Achyutarāya married a Pāṇḍyan princess.[56]

The facts narrated above are fully borne out by the inscriptions of Achyutarāya available at Kāḷahasti and Kāñchipuram. They mention that the king defeated the Tiruvaḍi ruler on the banks of the river Tāmbraparaṇi, set up a piller of victory on the spot and married a Pāṇḍya Princess. The Pāṇḍya Srivallabhadēva out of gratitude to the emperor and with a desire to cement the relationship between himself and the Vijayanagar ruler offered his daughter in marriage to him. By these transactions Srivallabha brought back the Pāṇḍyan kingdom of Teṉkāśi to its pristine glory and so he assumed the titles of "Iṟandakālamedutta" and "Pāṇḍyarājyasthapanācharya".[57] A valuable inscription from the Kāmakshiyammaṉ temple at Kāñchipuram confirms the above achievements of Achyutarāya and gives a summary of the events of the period.

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[55] Sources. p. 159.

[56] Studies. p. 33.

[57] T. A. S. Vol. I. p. 56.

It mentions that Achyuta sent an army to invade the Tiruvaḍirājya (Travancore), set up a pillar of victory on the banks of the river Tāmbraparaṇi, got tribute from Udayamārtāṇḍavarmaṇ, married a princess of the Pāṇḍya royal family, punished Sāḷuva Nāyaka and Tumbichi Nāyaka, came to Kāñchipuram with his queen and crown prince, Veṅkaṭādri and performed Tulābhāra, Mahabhūtagatidāṇa, Nityadāṇa, etc., and gave lands and gold to the Kāmākshiyammaṇ temple.[58]

How were Śāluva Nāyaka and Tumbichi Nāyaka punished?

Dr. N. Venkataramanayya is of opinion that both of them were pardoned and his conclusion seems to be tenable.[59] Śāḷuva Nāyaka seems to have lived even after the battle of Tāmbraparaṇi and an inscription from Mahābalipuram dated 26th January 1536 mentions a gift of land to the Vishnu temple by Śāḷuva Nāyaka.[60] According to another record from Rāmnāḍ district dated A. D. 1545, a Śāḷuva Nāyaka is said to have presided over a court of justice.[61] The Keladi Nrupavijaya refers to a Śāḷuva Nāyaka who was defeated by Śadaśiva Nāyaka of Ikkeri at Gutti acting on the orders of Rāmarāya. Most probably he was the same person as the Śāḷuva Nāyaka of Achyutarāya's period. In that case Śāḷuva Nāyaka must have been pardoned by the emperor.[62] Tumbichi Nāyaka also seems to have been pardoned by Achyuta. There are two inscriptions mentioning him as a subordinate of Achyutarāya in Rāmnāḍ district.[63] He was brought back to loyalty after his defeat and he acknowledged the supremacy of Vijayanagar.[64]

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[58] S. I. I. Vol. VII. No. 52.

[59] Studies p. 33.

[60] 55 of 1890.

[61] 2 of 1925.

[62] Studies. p. 33. F. N.

[63] Nos. 398 of 1907 and 198 of 1944.

Date of the battle of Tāmbraparaṇi :

When was the battle of Tāmbraparaṇi fought? According to inscriptional evidence Achyutarāya's coronation was celebrated at Kāḷahasti on 31st October 1529.[65] Śāḷuva Narasiṅga Nāyaka (Śellappa) was loyal to Achyuta till 15th December 1531 and it is evident from an inscription at Puḻal (Chingleput Dt.) which records a dēvadāna gift of land by Achyutarāya for the merit of Śellappa.[66] Therefore, it must be after this date that Śellappa must have risen in revolt against Achyuta. The record from Kāḷahasti dated 27th July 1532, mentions Achyuta's levy of tribute from the Tiruvaḍi ruler, the subjugation of Śāḷuva Nāyaka and Tumbichi Nāyaka and the planting of a pillar of victory on the banks of the Tāmbraparaṇi river.[67] Vīra Udayamārtāṇḍavarmaṉ, the Tiruvaḍi ruler was in possession of the region around Kalliḍaikkurichi in Tinnevelly district till 27th April 1531. Therefore, it is between January and July 1532 that Śāḷuva Nāyaka rebelled and sought the help of the ruler of Travancore and the battle of Tāmbraparaṇi must have been fought.

Criticism of the views of Mr. T. K. Velu Pillai :

The foregoing facts about Vijayanagar campaigns in the Tamiḻ country have come under severe criticism at the hands of Sri T. K. Velu Piḻḻai, the author of the "Travancore State Manual". He tries to disprove the victory of the Vijayanagar forces over those of Travancore by the following arguments.

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[64] M. E. R. 1945. paragraph. 36.

[65] 157 of 1924.

[66] 487 of 1920.

[67] 157 of 1923

(a) Travancore was not subject to Vijayanagar rule and the rulers of the state never paid tribute to the Rāyas of Vijayanagar.

(b) The account of Nuniz about the relations between the ruler of Quilon and the Rāyas is unreliable.

(c) The Achyutarāyabhyūdayam which mentions about the victory of Śālakarāju Chiṉṉa Tirumala over the Tiruvaḍi ruler is an unreliable court panegyric intended to flatter Achyutarāya who was a coward and, therefore, could not be considered as a trustworthy work.

(d) Epigraphical evidences mentioning the victory gained by the Vijayanagar army are found in places far away from the scene of battle and hence could not be regarded as reliable ones.

(e) The Sources of Vijayanagar history compiled by Dr. S. K. Iyengar is a symposium from several literary works in various Indian languages and the passages have not been scrutinised in the open field of historical criticism.

(f) The rusult of the battle of Tāmbraparaṇi was adverse to the invaders (Vijayanagar) and they were defeated and forced to turn back.[68]

Taking the above agreements one by one we can see that the views of Mr. Velu Pillai cannot stand the test of historica! criticism. Whatever might have been the relations between the Rāyas of Vijayanagar and the rulers of Travancore before A. D. 1485, it is certain that Travancore was under the suzerainty of the Tuḷuva monarchs, especially during the reign of Achyutarāya. Nuniz was a contemporary of Achyuta and his chronicle, though defective in certain respects, cannot be brushed aside as an entirely unreliable work. Writing about Śāḷuva Nāyaka, Nuniz says, "He is lord of Charamaodel and of Negapaṭao and Tamgor and Bomgarin, Dapatao, Truguel and Caullim". Of these places, the last mentioned evidently refers to Quilon in Travancore. Even during the reign of Dēvarāya II the ruler of Quilon was said to have paid tribute to Vijayanagar.[69] These observations of a contemporary writer cannot be regarded as an imaginary one. Therefore, the view that Travancore never paid tribute to Vijayanagar cannot stand.

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[68] T. K. Velu Pillai. T. S. M. Vol. II. pp. 156–171.

Secondly, Mr. Pillai regards the "Achyutarāyabhyūdayam" as a completely unreliable work for historical purposes. "The poet's account bristles with improbabilities. He revels in the element of fiction and his version is grossly vitiated by the wildest conceits. He makes Achyuta, his patron, so great a monarch that he would not condescend to lead an expedition himself. He would remain at Sriraṅgam deputing his general to fight against the Tiruvaḍi."[70]

No doubt Rājanātha, the author of Achyutarāyabhyūdayam was the court poet of Achyutarāya. But it is unjust to regard what all he had written as an element of fiction and of wildest conceit. If we can compare Achyutarāya with his contemporary Tiruvaḍi ruler, we can see that the latter was in no way equal to the former. There is no doubt in the version of Rājanātha that the Travancore ruler gave asylum to the rebels, Śellappa and Tumbichi Nāyaka. Further, Udayamārtāṇḍavarmaṉ had invited the might of Vijayanagar by encroaching on the territory of the Pāṇḍya ruler, Srivallabha. Achyutarāya was no coward as he was once considered to be. While Mr. Piḷḷai refuses to believe the other facts mentioned by Nuniz, he makes capital out of the statement of Nuniz that Achyuta was a coward and therefore, could not have led an expedition to the south. The invasion and conquest of the Tiruvaḍi country are proved by literary and epigraphical evidences. So, the views of Mr. Velu Pillai, regarding Rājanātha Diṇḍima as the 'half-forgotten' poet of the "Forgotten Empire" cannot be sustained.

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[69] R. Sewell. F. E. p. 302.

[70] T. S. M. II. p. 167.

Thirdly, Mr. Piḷḷai would not give any credit to epigraphical evidence at all. He says, "The inscriptions which are generally regarded as evidences for the success of the Vijayanagar forces possess little value of an evidentiary character."[71] He maintains that the records mentioning the victory are found in places far away from the scene of battle. Their existence at Kāñchipuram, Kāḷahasti and Elavānāśūr (S. A. Dt.) seriously affect their veracity. So, they are spurious inscriptions and they contain empty boasts, and untrustworthy facts.[72]

This is an erratic and downright condemnation of epigraphy in general and a refusal to accept epigraphical evidence for finding out truth. The reconstruction of South Indian history is to a large extent based upon materials supplied by inscriptions. It is idle to maintain that an inscription which mentions about a particular fact should be found in the place where the event had occurred. Inscriptions were generally inscribed on temple walls when gifts were made to the temples. Because there were no temples near the battle-field on the banks of the river Tāmbraparaṇi, there are no inscriptions mentioning the victory. Further, it was not necessary on the part of the victors to mention their victories in the battlefield or anywhere near it. Simply because the inscriptions are available at Kāñchi, Elavānāśūr and Kāḷahasti, they cannot be regarded untrustworthy.

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[71] Ibid.
[72] Ibid.

No. 157 of 1924 dated 27th July 1532 from Kāḷahasti and No. 52 of South Indian Inscriptions Vol. VII refer to the battle of Tāmbraparaṇi and mention the victory of the Vijayanagar army over the forces of Travancore. The inscription from Elavānāśūr (S. A. Dt.) gives the title of Tiruvaḍisaptāṅgaharaṇa or "he who captured the seven emblems of Tiruvaḍi's royalty" to Achyutarāya.[73] So, "In the face of this overwhelming testimony, the triumph of Vijayanagar in the conflict of A. D. 1532 is by no means open to doubt".[74]

Fourthly, Mr. Piḷḷai regards the 'Sources of Vijayanagar History' as a symposium from various languages. This is an unwarranted criticism of original sources and no other historian of South India had made such an observation. No historian of India could expect the sources of true history in a single language. An historian, particularly when he had to do research work is expected to know more than one language since the sources are varied and are found in various languages. Even to-day the work 'Sources of Vijayanagar History' and 'Further Sources by Dr. Venkataramanayya are considered to be the bed-rock of historical research in the Vijayanagar period and to regard them as useless works is to lack the sense of historical criticism.

Lastly, it is curious to note the statement of Mr. Piḷḷai that the Travancore army consisting of the brave Nāir soldiers could never have been defeated by the Vijayanagar forces. None can deny the bravery and military skill of the Nāirs of Malabar. But, to assert that a small army consisting of the Nāirs and supported by the recalcitrant feudal levies of Śāḷuva Nāyaka and Tumbichi Nāyaka could have obtained a overwhelming victory over the imperial forces is unbelievable.

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[73] 479 of 1938.

[74] Dr. K. K. Pillai. The Sucindrm Temple. p. 41.

CHAPTER — X

VIṬṬHALARĀYA IN THE TAMIL̤ COUNTRY

Achyutarāya's death in 1542 was followed by a fierce struggle for the throne and the coronations of Śadāśiva and Veṅkaṭa (the son of Achyuta) respectively by their respective supporters. The younger Śālakarāju caused to be murdered his nephew, Veṅkaṭa. In this confused state of affairs which was complicated by the tyranny of Śālakarāju and the intervention of the Sult̤ān of Bijapur, Rāmarāya defeated the tyrant and recrowned Śadāśiva and himself became the regent. Thus, Rāmarāya realised the ambition which he had cherished since the death of his father-in-law, Kṛiṣhṇadēvarāya.[1] As soon as Rāmarāya celebrated Śadāśiva's coronation he had to send an expedition to the Tamil̤ country under his cousin Viṭṭhalarāya. The expedition is said to have reached Travancore sometime before 16th June 1544. Because, the catholic evangelist St. Francis Xavier refers to the fugitives who fled from the Badaga invaders in a letter dated on that day.[2]

What led to the invasion of the Tamil̤ country during the reign of Śadāśivarāya and the regency of Rāmarāya? During the interval between the death of Achyutarāya and the final coronation of Śadāśiva there seems to have been a general unrest in the southern part of the empire especially south of Chandragiri. Several chieftains who were governors of Chandragiri, Bhuvan̤agiri, and the Ḳaḷḷa and Mar̤ava chieftains in the Pudukkōṭṭai region might have attempted to overthrow the imperial authority. Rāmarāya being a staunch imperialist could not tolerate such disobedience and it became his duty to putdown those rebellions. The expedition was sent under the brothers Rāmarāja Viṭṭhala and Chiṉṉa Timma and they were said to have captured Chandragiri, Bhuvaṉagiri, the Pudukkōṭṭai territory and other parts of the Tamiḻ country. So, we can agree with Rev. Father Heras when he says, 'that the expedition was sent to the south for the firm establishment of the Vijayanagar empire in the most distant corners.'[3] Secondly, the missionary activities of the Portuguese on the pearl fishery coast seemed to have created great fear in the mind of Rāmarāya. The conversion of the Paravas or the fishermen in the fishery coast roughly from Rāmēśvaram to Cape Comorin implied a transfer of the political allegiance of the people from Vijayanagar to Portugal. Further, Martin Afonso de Sousa, the most rapacious of the Portuguese governors of Goa, planned and organised a plundering raid on the temples of Kāñchi and other South Indian pilgrim centres which were famous for their wealth in gold and diamond jewels.[4] The religious rivalry between the Portuguese missionaries and the Brahmins of Tiruchendūr is mentioned by John Nieuhoff. "There was a pagan temple called Tiruchendūr against which and the priests thereof, the portuguese would frequently utter very injurious words, which so exasperated the inhabitants that they entered into a league with the Baḍagas of Narasiṅga in order to drive the Christians from thence."[5] This aggressive, religious and political attitude of the Portuguese might have been another cause of the expedition.

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[1] R. Sathianathier. Vol. II. p. 288.

[2] Further Sources. Vol. I. p. 245.

But the most important cause of the invasion was the disturbed political condition in the region south of the city of

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[3] The Aravidu Dynasty. p. 141.

[4] Further Sources. p. 246.

[5] C. C. M. Vol. 22. pp. 180–191.

Madura and the interference of the Tiruvaḍi rulers in the affairs of the Pāṇḍya chieftains of Teṉkāśi and Kayattār. During this period the Pāṇḍya country seems to have been divided into two chieftaincies with their respective capitals at Teṉkāśi and Kayattār. The modern taluks of Teṉkāśi, Shencōṭṭa, Śaṅkaranainārkoil and Srivilliputtūr formed the kingdom of Teṉkāśi. The ruler of this territory was Jaṭilavarmaṉ Srivallabha[6] who was subject to the sovereignity of Vijayanagar. The chieftaincy of Kayattār consisted of the modern taluks of Kōilpaṭṭi, Srivaikuṇḍam and Tinnevelly which was ruled over by one Veṭṭumperumāḷ Raja.[6(a)] It is to him that tradition ascribes the building of the fort of Kayattār and of whom there exists a remarkable series of sculptured stones at Iḷavēlankāḷ (Koilpaṭṭi taluk) representing his victory over one Veṅgālarāja.[7] These two princes were frequently at war with each other. In the present Travancore region there were no less than five states which were known in Telugu literature as Pañcha Tiruvaḍis. The contemporary Portuguese accounts also mention some of these. There were five small states between Quilon and Puṉṉaikāyal of which Quilon, Travancore and Cape Comorin were the most important. They were said to correspond to the five svarupams of Ciravāyi, Attiṅgāl or Tiruppāpur, Jayathuṅganāḍ, Pokkattāli and Kunnummel Iḷayitam. The boundaries and extent of these states varied with time and circumstances. Just before Viṭṭhala's invasion the territory of Quilon seems to have extended along the western coast from Quilon to

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6. T. A. S. Vol. I. p. 48. Note 16.

6. (a) This Vettumperumal Raja was mistakenly called by the Portuguese missionaries as Betimunal, Betermeal. Beterbemad and Beternal etc. F. Heras identified him with Vitthalaraya.

7. Rev. Schurhammer. Inquitriberim and Beteperumal. J. B. H. S. March 1930. p. 28.

Viḷiñjam and that of Cape Comorin from the Cape to the mouth of Tāmbraparaṇi. Between these two states was the country of Travancore.[8]

The cause of the political disturbance among those states was the attempt made by Vīra Uṇṇikēraḷavarmaṉ or Iniquitriberim of the Portuguese writers, the ruler of Travancore, to conquer the territory of Cape Comorin. The ruler of Cape Comorin died in A. D. 1543 leaving his kingdom to a young son. Iniquitriberim invaded Cape Comorin, seized the young prince with his mother and imprisoned both of them. But, the prince and his mother defied the ambition of Uṇṇikēralavarmaṉ, opened secret negotiations with a Portuguese missionary called Master Francisco in order to get help from the Portuguese and promised to give three million pounds in gold if their territory was restored to them. Further, they also came to a secret understanding with Veṭṭumperumāḷ Rāja of Kayattār, whereas Uṇṇikēraḷavarmaṉ requested St. Francis Xavier to get the help of the Portuguese governor at Calicut against his enemies.[9] Vīra Uṇṇikēraḷavarmaṉ had also refused to pay the tribute which his predecessor Vīra Udayamārtāṇḍavarmaṉ had agreed to pay to Vijayanagar during the reign of Achyutarāya. He also made serious inroads into the territories of Jaṭilavarmaṉ Srivallabha who had been restored to his kingdom by Śālakarāju Chiṉṉa Tirumala. It was certain that Rāmarāya could not tolerate such a disturbed political condition in the southern part of his empire and sent a formidable force under his cousins Viṭṭhalarāya and Chiṉṉa Timma.

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[8] Further Sources. Vol. I. p. 247.

[9] Ibid.

Who were Viṭṭhalarāya and Chiṉṉa Timma?

From the prefix Rāmarāja which was added on to the name of Viṭṭhaladēva, Mr. Nelson identified him with Rāmarāya. "The great Rāmarāya was the person meant by Viṭṭhala and he governed the Madura country for a period of 12 years." Mr. Venkayya regarded Rāmarāja Viṭṭhaladēva as the son of Rāmarāya. The same mistake was committed by Nagamiah, the author of the Travancore State Manual. But, it is now certain that both Viṭṭhala and his younger brother Chiṉṉa Timma were the cousins of Rāmarāya and the sons of one Timmarāja, the paternal uncle of Rāmarāya. He had the prefixes of Rāmarāj and Timmarāja, which meant Viṭṭhalarāja, the son of Timmarāja and the grandson of Rāmarāja I.[10]

Viṭṭhala was not a stranger to the Tamiḻ country if we take into consideration a copper plate record dated A.D. 1537 hailing from the Tinnevelly district. It mentions that Aṇṇaṇ Baśavaṇṇa Nāyaka an officer of Viṭṭhalarāja gave the village of Puliyūrkurichi in Tiruvaḍidēśam to a brahmin in A. D. 1537. Therefore, he seems to have been appointed as the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara of the Pāṇḍyarājya even before his expedition against the Tiruvaḍi ruler in A. D. 1544.[11] He is also mentioned in an inscription from Sriraṅgam, dated 27th May 1544, which records the gift of the village of Marudūr in Tiruchirāppaḷḷi district to the temple by Viṭṭhaladēva Mahārāja for providing offerings and worship to God Sriraṅganātha.[12] Two months later in July 1544 one Timmappa Nāyaka, an agent of Rāmarāja Viṭṭhala made the grant of a village to the temple at Ratnagiri in Kuḷittaḷai Taluk.[13]

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[10] C. C. M. Vol. 22.

[11] C. P. No. 6 of 1906.

[12] 81 of 1937.

[13] 192 of 1914.

Therefore, even before his expedition to the Travancore region, Viṭṭhala had experience as the governor of the Tamiḻ country from A. D. 1537. Perhaps, he was recalled to the capital by Rāmarāya subsequently and then was ordered to lead the expedition.

Dr. Venkataramanayya is of opinion that it was Chiṉṉa Timma, the younger brother of Viṭṭhala who led the expedition and Viṭṭhala merely played a subordinate role.[14] But this does not seem to be a correct view. Because, there are twenty six records available in the Tamiḻ country, which mention about the brothers, Viṭṭhalarāja and Chiṉṉa Timma. Of these 18 inscriptions refer to Viṭṭhala as the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara and only 8 mention about Chiṉṉa Timma. All the eighteen records referring to Viṭṭhala are found in the region south of the river Kāvēri, whereas the majority of inscriptions mentioning Chiṉṉa Timma are available in the northern part of the Tamiḻ country forming the North Arcot, Chingleput and South Arcot districts. Only two inscriptions from the Tinnevelly district mention about Chiṉṉa Timma.[15] It is inferable from this evidence that Viṭṭhala was appointed Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara of the southern part of the Tamiḻ country and he was also the commander of the Vijayanagar forces while Chiṉṉa Timma was the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara of the northern part of the Tamiḻ country. Two inscriptions from Cape Comorin and Śucindram mention Viṭṭhala as the general of the Vijayanagar army.[16] Whereas none of the records mentions Chiṉṉa Timma likewise. Therefore, Chiṉṉa Timma must have held only a subordinate rank though he might be regarded as a joint leader with his elder brother.[16(a)]

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[14] Further Sources. pp. 248–49.

[15] 584 and 718 of 1916.

[16] 109 of 1946 aud 64 of 1896.

[16(a)] Dr. T. V. Mahalingam is of opinion that Vitthala

Course of the invasion :

According to Father Heras, the main purpose of Viṭṭhala's invasion was to punish the ruler of Travancore for his daring attack against the Pāṇḍya ruler of Teṉkāśi and his refusal to pay tribute and the first country which he attacked was Travancore.[17] But, Dr. Venkataramanayya presumes that the whole Tamiḻ country rose against Rāmarāya and Viṭṭhala had to reconquer the whole territory from Chandragiri to Cape Comorin.[18] Starting from the capital Viṭṭhala and Chiṉṉa Timma were said to have proceeded to Chandragiri and captured the fort. Who was the rebel from whom it was conquered? Mr. Venkataramanayya only says that the name of the enemy from whom Chiṉṉa Timma took the fort is not known.[19] But we know from an inscription at Tiṇḍivaṉam dated 1542 A. D. that Chiṉṉa Timma was the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara of the northern part of the Tamiḻ country.[20] Most probably Chandragiri was his headquarters and it is improbable that he could have captured Chandragiri from his own self. Therefore Chiṉṉa Timma's capture of Chandragiri seems to be a myth.

"Having completed the subjugation of Chandragiri, Chiṉṉa Timma entered the Chōḷa country and stormed the fort of Bōnagiri.[21] Marching along the coast he reached the

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was appointed as 'Special Commissioner' over the far south after the successful termination of his expedition against Travancore. (S. I. P. p. 331)

[17] The Āravidu Dynasty. p. 141.

[18] Further Sources. p. 249.

[19] Ibid.

[20] 33 of 1905.

[21] Bhuvanagiri is a market town four miles west of Chidambaram. It was called Bhuvanekaviranpattinam during the Chola and Pandya periods. But there are no traces of a fort there at present.

port of Nāgur where he destroyed several wicked people and restored to God Raṅganātha the wealth which belonged to him. Then they crossed the Kāvēri and entered the present Trichinopoly and Rāmnāḍ districts which were known as Taṉṉaraśu Nāḍu.[22] The local chieftains who were unwilling to pay tribute were forced to pay it. Then they marched into the Pāṇḍya country where the chieftain of Teṉkāśi who was harassed by the ruler of Travancore and chieftain of Kayattār, (Veṭṭumperumāḷ), sought imperial protection. The brothers were said to have defeated Veṭṭumperumāḷ and reinstated the Teṉkāśi ruler. Having been defeated by Viṭṭhala, Veṭṭumperumāḷ fled from Kayattār and sought protection under Vīra Uṉṉikēraḷavarmaṉ.

Then, the Vijayanagar army seems to have entered into the Travancore territory through the Aruvāymoḻi Pass.[23] We have three different and conflicting accounts of this first invasion and conquest of Viṭṭhala in the Tiruvaḍi country. It is necessary to evaluate the various views in these accounts and to find out the most probable and reliable facts in them. The first version is that of Rev. Father Heras and according to him the first country that Viṭṭhala invaded was Travancore which was then ruled over by Bhūtala Vīra Kēraḷavarmaṉ alias Uṉṉikēraḷavarmaṉ. Viṭṭhala entered the country through the Aruvāymoḻi Pass and was followed by death and destruction on his way. When news of this inroad reached Travancore, all the people grow extremely frightened and a number of inhabitants of the south fled northwards carrying with them all their belongings. Uṇṇikēraḷavarmaṉ collected an army to oppose the Vijayanagar forces. But, when he heard that Viṭṭala's army was a formidable one and the equipments were tremendous, Uṇṇikēraḷavarmaṉ came to the conclusion that it was dangerous to fight with such a huge army. So he sought the help of St. Francis Xavier, who was then preaching Christianity in Travancore, to help him against the Baḍagas. But, at first, Xavier said that the only help he could offer the king was his prayers since he was only a missionary and not a soldier.

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[22] N. Venkataramanayya. Ibid.

[23] Aruvāymoḻi Pass is about 10 miles to the north of Cape Comorin and it was the most convenient highway from the east into the Travancore territory from early days. This Pass formed the portals through which the Pandyas, Cholas and the Vijayanagar generals and the Nayaks of Madura poured into the Travancore territory. (See J. I. H. Vol. IV. The Aruvaymoli Pass by A. S. Ramanatha Iyer)

Meanwhile, Viṭṭhala's army was advancing triumphantly through the country an before it, the panic-stricken villagers abandoned their homes and sought refuge in forests and hills. But, when the army was only two leagues north of the village of Kōṭṭar, the vanguard stopped suddenly unable to proceed further. Though the officers in the rear ordered the soldiers to march on, yet those who were in the front were unable to move. "A tall majestic man, dressed in black, appeared in front of us and reprimanded us to retire at once" said the soldiers. Then Viṭṭhala came to know that it was St. Francis Xavier who commanded them to retreat. Such an order Viṭṭhala could not disobey and accordingly the troops were ordered to retreat. Thus was Travancore saved from the Vijayanagar army by the prayer and request of St. Francies Xavier who became the Saviour of Uṇṇikēraḷavarmaṉ and Travancore.[24]

The second version of Viṭṭhaḷa's invasion of Travancore is that of Rev. Schurhammer. S. J. who says, "The expedition of 1544 was sent by Śadāśiva and Rāmarāya against the Pāṇḍya Veṭṭumperumāḷ and in favour of the Tiruvaḍi. The general, Viṭṭhala was sent to the south with his Baḍaga troops and with him his brother Chiṉṉa Timma of whom the Yādhavābhyūdaya Vyākhya simply says, that he planted a pillar of victory near the mountains of Malaya, but the contemporaneous author of Bālabhāgavatam expressly states that his patron Chiṉṉa Timma restored to the Tiruvaḍi his lost territory and defeated the Paṇḍya sovereign who fought against the Tiruvaḍi and that he was therefore called Tiruvaḍi-rājya sthāpanāchārya.[25]

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[24] Father Heras. Ibid. p. 141-45.

The third version is that of Dr. Venkataramaṇayya who says, "Proceeding from Madura, Chiṉṉa Timma marched further south when the Pāṇḍya ruler (of Teṉkāśi) arrived at his camp and sought protection under him. Beṭṭuperumāḷ (Veṭṭumperumāḷ) the chief of Kayattār and Tuticorin drove him out of his kingdom and took forcible possession of it. Chiṉṉa Timma crushed his pride in battle and reinstated the Pāṇḍya in his ancestral kingdom. During the campaign against Veṭṭumperumāḷ, Chiṉṉa Timma appears to have come into conflict with the rulers of the Tiruvaḍi country. The five Tiruvaḍis seem have united their forces against Viṭṭhala and Chiṉṉa Timma. But their forces were worsted in a battle near Kōṭṭar. The ruler of Travancore submitted and he was received into favour. Chiṉṉa Timma seems to have offered terms of peace to Veṭṭumperumāḷ. But he showed no signs of submission. On the contrary he hastened to join his ally, the ruler of Cape Comorin and waged war against Iniquitriberim. Veṭṭumperumāḷ was again defeated in battle and taken prisoner. Timma reduced the country to subjection and recognised Iniquitriberim as the ruler of Travancore.

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25. J. B. H. S. Vol. III. pp. 35–36.

Thus, he successfully performed the task which his cousin Rāmarāya had entrusted to him.[26]

Criticism of the above views:

(1) Father Heras thought that the first country which Viṭṭhala invaded was Travancore. We have seen that even before entering the Vēnāḍ territory, Viṭṭhala had to reckon with Veṭṭumperumāḷ, the ruler of Kayattār, who was defeated and forced to accept Vijayanagar sovereignty. Then, was there a battle fought between Viṭṭhala and the forces of Uṇṇikāraḷavarmaṉ? The learned Father believed that there was no battle fought and the Vljayanagar army was forced to retreat by the supernatural command of St. Francis Xavier. We refuse to believe this. Because, the main purpose of Viṭṭhala's invasion was the punishment of the Travancore ruler for encroaching upon the territory of the Pāṇḍya and his refusal to pay tribute. The subsequent events show that these two objects were achieved and there is no reason to argue that there was no battle fought at Kōṭṭār. But, Fr. Heras gives evidences from various foreign sources to prove that by the mere appearance and commanding voice of St. Francis Xavier, the Baḍagas began to retreat.[27] It is rather strange that Fr. Xavier who was helpless on the fishery coast where his followers, the Paravas, were plundered by the Baḍagas, was able to drive Viṭṭhala's army out of Travancore by his divine powers. Further, Xavier himself is silent on the subject in his letters written from the fishery coast. The sublimity of the story is thus marred by its lack of probability. We may therefore take it as a pious invention to increase the importance of the Jesuits in Travancore.[28] If Viṭṭhala had to

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[26] Further Sources. Vol. I. pp. 249–50.

[27] Father Heras. Ibid. pp. 144–5. Foot Note.

[28] T. K. Velu Pillai. T. S. M. Vol. II. p. 176.

retreat without winning a victory what was the necessity for the Travancore ruler for recognising Vijayanagar suzerainty? Further, there are inscriptional evidences which prove the victory of Viṭṭhala over the Travancore forces. Two inscriptions from the Sucindram temple which are dated A. D. 1545 and 1547 respectively, prove clearly that Viṭṭhala won a victory over the Travancore forces. The first of these records mentions that Viṭṭhala built the tower of the temple of Tiru-vēṅkaṭanātha and erected the flag-post in front of the Perumal shrine. The second record registers a gift of lands by Rāmavarma Tiruvaḍi, the successor of Uṇṇikēraḷavarmaṉ, for offerings to Tiruvēnkata Emperumāṉ on the birthday of Viṭṭhalarāya.[29] Therefore, it was a fact that the Travancore forces were defeated by Viṭṭhala and St. Francis Xavier seems to have acted as an intermediary between Viṭṭhala and the ruler of Travancore after the battle.

(2) Reverend Ṣchurhmmer thinks that the original letters of St. Francis Xavier were misintrepreted by the commentators and so he formulates the following views:

(a) A ruler variously spelt such as Betermemal, Betebumar, Betimunal, Betermeal and Betebermao was fighting Iniquitriberim.

(b) This Betermemal was Veṭṭumperumāḷ, the chieftain of Kayattār and Tiruchendūr. He is not to be identified with Viṭṭhalarāya as was done by Father Heras.

(c) Viṭṭhala invaded the Tinnevelly district against Veṭṭumperumāḷ and in favour of the Tiruvaḍi ruler.

It is difficult to determine whether the name Betermemal really refers to Viṭṭhalarāya or Veṭṭumperumāḷ. Most probably it corresponds to the later name. It is true that Viṭṭhala first defeated Veṭṭumperumāḷ since he associated himself with the ruler of Travancore and fought against the Pāṇḍya ruler of Teṇkāśi. When he was defeated by Viṭṭhala, Veṭṭumperumāḷ naturally sought refuge in Travancore. But there is no reason to argue that the Baḍagas came to the south to protect the ruler of Travancore against Veṭṭumperumāḷ. He was not such a formidable enemy of whom the Travancore ruler was afraid and hence sought help from Vijayanagar. All available evidences show that Viṭṭhala came to the south to protect the Pāṇḍya from the aggression of the Travancore ruler and to get tribute for him. As against these facts it is idle to presume that Viṭṭhala led an expedition in favour of the Tiruvaḍi ruler and so he assumed the title of 'Tiruvaḍirājyasthāpanāchārya'. Viṭṭhala had every right to assume this title since he first defeated the Travancore ruler and then restored to him the territory over which he ruled after agreeing to pay tribute.

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[29] Dr. K. K. Pillai. The Sucindram Temple. pp. 42–43.

(3) The third account which is that of Dr. N. Venkataramanayya seems to be the most convincing one. But we have to clear some misconceptions before we accept his views. He assumes that it was Chiṇṇa Timma who led the expedition to Travancore on the basis of the Bālabhāgavatam and Yādhavabhyūdya Vyākhya both of which eulogise Chiṇṇa Timma and his achievements. No doubt, Chiṇṇa Timma was an important officer next to his brother in the Vijayanagar army. But all the credit of the expedition cannot be tacked on to Chiṇṇa Timma as is done by the above two works. Then, Mr. Venkataramanayya believes that Veṭṭumperumāḷ, after his defeat by Chiṇṇa Timma escaped to Cape Comorin and fought against Uṇṇikēraḷavarmaṇ, the ruler of Travancore. It is not possible to substantiate this view and we have simply to ignore it.

It will be clear from the above discussion that the Vijayanagar forces led by Viṭṭhala and supported by his brother Chiṉṉa Timma and some other feudatories won a victory over Vīra Uṇṇikeraḷavarmaṉ near Kōṭṭār. One of the results of the victory was the licence which the Baḍaga soldiers had in plundering the people. We find St. Francis Xavier describing the difficulties of the people near Cape Comorin as a result of this plunder. "It was indeed pitiful to see them. Some had nothing to eat; others had become blind on account of their age and hardships; many were married men and their wives brought forth children while enroute and there were many pitiful things; had you seen them, you would, I am sure, have pitied them more than myself."[30] The occupation and plunder of the Travancore territory by the Badagas continued for some time and it became inevitable for Uṇṇikēraḷavarmaṉ to sue for peace with Viṭṭhala and the peace seems to have been concluded through the mediation of St. Francis Xavier. It is probable that after the battle of Kōṭṭār, Viṭṭhala left a portion of his army in the southern part of Travancore and then marched towards Tuticorin to deal with the Portuguese there. Uṇṇikēraḷavarmaṉ had to send an envoy seeking peace terms with Viṭṭhala. This event is mentioned by Francis Xavier in one of his letters dated 19th August A. D. 1544. "Iniquitriberim sends a brahmin along with a captain to make peace with these people. I do not know what they will do; they are at present here and will soon leave by sea." Again he wrote on the next day, "The brahmin now goes there with despatches for the Baḍagas and for their king Batermenal. For God's sake try to give him at once a boat to go to Tutycurim."[31]

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[30] Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier by H. J. Coleridge p. 210.

[31] Letters from Xavier to Mansilhas – dated 19th and 20th August 1544 from Manappad. Here a

The conclusion of peace was not easy since Viṭṭhala was engaged in subduing the Portuguese on the fishery coast in the environs of Tuticorin and Tiruchendūr. The terms offered by the brahmin envoy of Uṇṇikēraḷavarmaṉ, were, at first, rejected by Viṭṭhala. He even planned to re-invade Travancore and to fight again.[32] Viṭṭhala might have taken objection to the fact that the ruler of Travancore had not approached him personally for offering peace terms. So, Francis Xavier, who was a close friend of the Travancore ruler might have prevailed upon him to meet Viṭṭhala in person. By his advice Uṇṇikēraḷavarmaṉ went in person to sign a peace treaty at Tuticorin. Though we do not know the exact terms of the treaty, yet we know for certain that parts of the present district of Tinnevelly were ceded finally to the Vijayanagar viceroy who in return agreed not to molest Travancore. Thus, the Travancore ruler became a tributary again and promised payment of an annual tribute.[33] This achievement of Viṭṭhala is confirmed by an inscription at Śucindram which records that the successor of Uṇṇikēraḷavarmaṉ, Bhutala Vīra provided for special offerings to the Vishṇu shrine at Śucindram on the day of Rōhiṇi which was the natal star of Viṭṭhalarāya. Since the grant was made by the ruler himself, there is no doubt that the ruler of Travancore became subordinate to Vijayanagar.[34] Such was the result of the first invasion of Travancore by Viṭṭhalarāya.

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mistake seems to have been committed by St. Francis Xavier. Though the name Betermenal sounds like Vettumperumal, he, obviously meant Vitthalaraya. The names Vitthalaraya aud Vettumperumal were so confusing to him that he mistook the one for the other. (See J. B. H. S. Vol. III. 1930)

[32] Heras. Op. cit., p. 149.

[33] Ibid. p. 150.

[34] 64 of 1896 and M. E. R. 1900. paragraph 78.

Second invasion of Viṭṭhala 1558:

The struggle between Vijayanagar and Travancore was not completely over even though Viṭṭhala was succesful in his expedition of 1544. Fourteen years later in 1558 he had to lead another expedition into the Travancore kingdom. What was the cause of this invasion? Perhaps Bhutala Vīrarāmavarmaṉ refused to pay the tribute which his predecessor had agreed to pay. The Vijayanagar general invaded Travancore with an army of six thousand soldiers. Rāmavarma was not able to oppose this force since his army consisted of only a few thousand soldiers. Therefore, he was said to have sought the help of a Portuguese Jesuit named Fr. F. Perez who was the superior of the Travancore Missions and resided at Kaḷkulam, The ruler of Travancore is said to have requested the missionary to pray much to God for the success of his army. "Fr. Perez promised to do so and sent him a standard in the centre of which the name of Jesus was painted; at the same time he recommended that the ensign bearing this standard should precede the army and that while engaging in battle, all should fervently invoke the name of Jesus. This was done and the Telugu soldiers on hearing the noise, retreated panic-stricken and were pursued by the Malayāḷis who slaughtered many of them.[35] This account of the battle between the army of Viṭṭhala and that of Rāmavarma Triuvaḍi resembles that which was related in connection with the first invasion when Xavier was said to have played such a mysterious part. We cannot rely much on this account since according to Fr. H. Hosten, who travelled in Travancore in 1924, he was not able to find the standard in the treasury of Travancore, even though Fr. Souza said that it was kept in the royal treasury. Evidently, the battle ended in the defeat of Viṭṭhala owing to the bravery of the Travancore soldiers. It was even surmised that Viṭṭhala himself was killed in the battle since we hear no more about him, "It is needless to add that the defeat of Viṭṭhala redeemed the independence of Travancore from allegiance to Vijayanagar.''[36]

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[35] The Aravidu Dynasty. p. 162:

Mr. Velu Pillai again:

In spite of the overwhelming evidences in favour of the success of Viṭṭhala in his first expedition to Travancore, Mr. T. K. Velu Pillai has come forward to assert that the Travancore forces were never defeated by Viṭṭthalarāya. While repudiating the supposed part played by St. Francis Xavier in the struggle, Mr. Piḷḷai says "They (the Vijayanagar forces) were ignominously defeated at Kōṭṭar in A. D. 1544. The invaders were defeated and driven away by the bravery of the Travancore troops and the resolution of their king whom Xavier himself respected as a powerfull monarch.''[37] Further, he discredits the evidence of lithic records which establish the victory of Viṭṭhala over Uṇṇikēraḷavarmaṉ on the following grounds.

(1) The first of the two Śucindram inscriptions mentions only that Viṭṭhalarāya caused to be constructed the eastern tower of the Sthāṇunāthasvami temple. It is expressly stated that the tower was constructed to please Hari (God). There is not the remotest reference or hint to any victory of Viṭṭhala.

(2) The second inscription records a grant of land for offerings to Tiruvēṅkaṭa Emperumāṉ for the benefit of Viṭṭhalarāya on his birthdays. Here, no reference is made to the political relationship with Vijayanagar. The proper

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[36] Dr. K. K. Pillai. Op. cit., p. 44.

[37] T. K. Velu Pillai, Op. cit., pp. 176–77.

interpretation of the record is that Rāmavarma, pleased with Viṭṭhala for constructing the tower, expressed his appreciation by making an endowment in his (Viṭṭhala's) name as the servant of the Deity.

(3) Twelve years after the battle of Kōṭṭar the king of Travancore made a grant of land in the Tinnevelly district to the temple at Tirupati. This he could never have done if he had ceded the Tinnevelly district to Vijayanagar.[38]

By these arguments Mr. Pillai tries to prove that Viṭṭhala was defeated in his first invasion. These interpretations of epigraphical records are opposed to canons of sound historical criticism. A defeated Viṭṭhala would never have wasted his time and money for constructing a tower in the victor's country. Nor would a victorious ruler celebrate the birthday of a defeated person in the premier temple within his kingdom. To maintain that Rāmavarma Tiruvaḍi made a grant to please the God only, is to ignore the inscription itself. Therefore Mr. Pillai refutes his own arguments by asserting that Travancore forces were never defeated by Viṭṭhala. His argument that Rāmavarma Tiruvaḍi's grant of land to the Tirupati temple in the Tinnevelly district disproves his cession of Tinnevelly district to Vijayanagar is an unsound one. Because a ruler can buy lands in foreign territory and make a grant to a temple in a distant place. Further, the author regards Rāmarājyamu, Bālabhāgavatham and Yādavabhyūdaya Vyākya as unreliable literary works for purposes of History. He refuses to believe their evidences as to the invasion and conquest of Travancore by Viṭṭhala and his brother Chiṉṉa Timma. In support of his thesis Mr. Piḷḷai also quotes the words of Father Heras in an irrelevant way. About the second

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38. Ibid. pp. 178-79.
39. Father Heras. Op. cit., P. 163.

invasion of Viṭṭhala, Fr. Heras says, "The defeat of Viṭṭhala's army in Travancore was practically equivalent to the complete independence of this kingdom."[39] But the author applies the statement to the first invasion and asserts that Viṭṭhala was defeated by the ruler of Travancore, during his first invasion. On account of these inconsistencies we refuse to agree with the theory of Mr. Velu Pillai.

As regards the second invasion of Viṭṭhala we know that he was defeated and we can agree with Mr. Piḷḷai that Travancore became independent in A. D. 1559 and maintained her independence till her conquest by the Nāyak ruler of Madura.

Viṭṭhala in the Fishery coast:

One of the objects of Viṭṭhala's invasion of the Tamiḷ country was the suppression of the Portuguese activities on the Coromandel and the fishery coasts roughly extending from Rāmēśvaram to Cape Comorin. It was during the reign of Achyutarāya that the Paravās or the fisherfolk living along the fishery coast were converted to Christianity by the combined efforts of the Portuguese governors and the Jesuit missionaries. The circumstances which led to the conversion of the Paravās were rather pathetic. In addition to the Paravās, the fishery coast was the habitation of several Muslims who had settled there after their expulsion from Madura. They had practically become the ultimate owners of all the pearl fisheries. They tyrannised the poor Paravās, prevented them from fishing without their permission and claimed a monopoly of dealing in pearls. In A. D. 1532 there happened a petty quarrel between a Parava and a Muslim in which the former was badly wounded with one of his ears torn. This was considered to be a great insult to the whole Parava caste and they secretly hatched a plot, made a surprise attack on the muslim quarters at Tuticorin and killed a good number of Muslims. The result of the Parava attack was a terrible revenge. The Muslims collected an army with the help of the neighbouring pāḷaiyagārs and marched against the Paravās both by land and sea. The poor Paravās were pitilessly massacred, their huts burnt and their fishing tools destroyed.

A Malabar Christian named Joao Dacruz was an eye witness of the terrible massacre of the Paravās. He advised them to seek the help of the Portuguese captain at Cochin who would willingly help them if he heard of their difficulties. On his advice fifteen of the most influential Paravas who were known as Pattangaṭṭis were led by Joao Dacruz to Cochin. The Portuguese captain at Cochin, Dr. Pero Vaz de Amaral received them kindly and promised to protect them from the Muslims provided the Paravās became Christians. The Paravā leaders were glad and agreed to become Christians and they were baptized by Fr. Miguel Vaz, Vicar general of India.[1] Gradually about 20,000 Paravās became Christians and it now became the duty of the Portuguese to protect them from the Muslims. 'And that is how', 'our Lord saved so many lives, by means of one torn ear-lobe'.[1(a)]

Meanwhile, a Portuguese fleet commanded by the grvernor, Dom Nuno da Cunha, was sent to the fishery coast for punishing the muslim tyrants. The miserable boats of the Muslims were no match to the Portuguese vessels and they were completely destroyed and most of the Muslims killed. Those boats which were not destroyed were given to the Paravās and the rest of the Muslims were driven out of the coast. Thus the Portuguese became masters of the fishery coast and claimed both religious and political supremacy over the

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[1] The Aravidu Dynasty. p. 119

[1(a)] D. Ferroli. S. J. The Jesuits in Malabar. Vol. I. P. 118.

Paravās who were claimed as Portuguese subjects. John Nieuhoff while relating in his travels about the incidents of 1533 in the fishery coast says 'The Nāyak of Madurā left the Portuguese in full possession of their jurisdiction over the Paravās and of the free exercise of their religion.'[2]

But the imperial regent Rāmarāya was not willing to lose such an industrious people like the Paravās and the rich harvest of pearls into the Portuguese hands. Viṭṭhalarāya was specially instructed to bring the Paravās back under Vijayanagar rule whatever might be their religious persuasion. So, after dealing with the Travancore ruler at Kōṭṭār in August 1544, Viṭṭhala turned his attention towards the fishery coast. The Portuguese had established themselves during this period at Maṇappāḍu, Puṉṉaikāyal, Tuticorin and Vambār and took over the civil and criminal jurisdiction of the whole coast.[3] According to one of the letters of St. Francis Xavier dated 3rd August I544, Viṭṭhala overran the fishery coast on that day. "The boats must be thrown into the sea in time and the people might embark when the occasion demands. Because I am sure that the Baḍagas will attack and capture the Christians." In his next letter dated 19th August Xavier wrote that the Chiristians had fled to the forest since the Baḍagas had robbed them of their property, and stabbed two men, one a Christian and the other a Hindu. Most of the Paravās, embarking on their miserable boats, sought refuge in the small islands beyond Cape Comorin leaving their country to the fury of the Baḍagas.

Since those islands were separated from the mainland by backwater canals the soldiers of Viṭṭhala's army could not

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2. John Nieuhoff. Voyages and Travels. p. 246
3. Stuart. Tinnevelly Manual. p. 43.

reach them. But the islands to which the Paravās escaped were more terrible than the Baḍaga soldiers because they could get no drinking water there. The Baḍagas also attacked Puṉṉaikāyal and burnt down the houses and boats belonging to the Portuguese captain who also fled with his followers to a lonely island nearby. 'Tuticorin was also swept away by the Vijayanagar army and Viṭṭhala made the town his temporary residence. We know from one of the letters of Xavier that the envoy sent by Uṉṉikēraḷavarmaṉ had to meet Viṭṭhala at Tuticorin.[4] The plight of the poor Christians and the Portuguese captain is well described by Francis Xavier in a letter to Mansilhas from Maṉappāḍu dated 5th September 1544. "I am anxious about the Christians of Tuticorin who are in the greatest possible misery. Go at once with all the boats at Kombutturai and Puṉṉaikāyal and transport the wretched people from the barren isles to Puṉṉaikāyal and Tiruchendūr. I conjure you, by our Lord, never let it be that Beterbemali, the leader of these robber Baḍagas and all his horde of plundering ruffiians, should have their hearts' desire fulfilled, that remnants of this most afflicted people should perish of hunger and thirst."[5] In another letter Xavier requested Mansilhas to collect some doles among the rich people to help the miserable Christians and to supply them plenty of drinking water.

Why were the soldiers of Viṭṭhala so cruel towards the Christians and the Portuguese? The cause seems to be that the Portuguese had captured a brother-in-law of Viṭṭhala and made him prisoner. The fact is mentioned by Xavier in a letter dated 7th September A. D. 1544. "The Baḍagas were in excitement and all but up in arms. The cause of their fury is that the Portuguese have seized and taken prisoner, a near relative of Beterbemali, in fact, his wife's own brother. The Baḍagas, exasperated by this affront were vowing to exterminate everything Christian throughout the whole coast of Comorin.[6]

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[4] The Aravidu Dynasty. p. 153.

[5] H. J. Coleridge. Op. cit., p. 211.

But this raid of the fishery coast did not last long. By 21st August A. D. 1544 Xavier wrote from Puṉṉaikāyal that the Baḍagas had left the place for Kaḷakkāḍu. Perhaps the Portuguese were forced to restore the brother-in-law of Viṭṭhala and the order for their prosecution was stopped.

Even though the Portuguese activities in the fishery coast were superfically stopped by the above invasion, they did not give up their ultimate idea of bringing the coast permanently under their control. At a village called Vēḍalai near Rāmēśvaram, a mud fort was erected by the Portuguese. In 1549 a garrison of 40 soldiers was stationed in the fort under the command of one Joao Fernandez Correa. He dug a trench close to his fort barring the path of the numerous Hindu pilgrims to the temple at Rāmēśvaram. The pilgrims had to pay toll to the Portuguese. As a result, the income of the priests at Rāmēśvaram dwindled and they appealed to Viṭṭhala through the Śētupati of Rāmnād.[7]

The result was a second invasion of the fishery coast by the Baḍagas. But we do not know whether Viṭṭhala really led the army. Six thousand soldiers marched against Vēdalai and they were helped by several Muslims who were driven out of the coast by the Portuguese. Despairing of protecting himself against such a vast horde, the Portuguese captain sought refuge in the islands off the coast along with some of the Paravās. An Italian Jesuit by name

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6. Ibid.
7. Fether Heras. Op. cits., p. 156.

Antonio Criminali was then at Ramesvaraṃ preaching Chiristianity to the Paravās. On hearing the Baḍaga invasion he made haste to Vēḍālai to protect the Christians. We know from the Portuguese sources that this father was done to death while attempting to help the Paravās. Many Paravās and the Portuguese were murdered on this occasion and others were reduced to captivity. The chapel and the fort at Vēḍālai were razed to the ground and the trench around the fort was filled up. The Jesuit chronicles conclude their account by saying that the Badaga soldiers went finally to Rāmēśvaram in order to take a holy bath in the sea.[8]

Two years later in 1551, peace on the fishery coast was again disturbed by the soldiers of Viṭṭhala. They captured a young Portuguese Jesuit Father named Paolo de Valle. But the Paravās appearing suddenly in the Telugu camp, succeeded in rescuing him. This action of the Paravās provoked another invasion of the Baḍagas. Finally some compromise was arrived at by which the Paravās agreed to pay an annual tribute to the Vijayanagar viceroy at Madura, and they were assured of freedom from molestation. The tribute consisted of a day's fishing value which, according to Couto would amount to 70 thousand pardaos.[9]

The third invasion of the Fishery coast by Viṭṭhala:

It seems that Viṭṭhala was not satisfied with this apparent submission of the villages of the fishery coast. He aimed at the complete destruction of Portuguese influence on the fishery coast. Since on former occasions they had always escaped by sea, Viṭṭhala is said to have allied himself with a Muslim pirate named Irapāli who was subject to the authority of the Zamorin of Calicut. Both of them came to an understanding that while the Baḍaga troops had to attack the Portuguese by land, Irapāli was to besiege their fortresses on the coast. The place for launching the assault was Puṉṉaikāyal which was the stronghold of the Portuguese with a garrison of 50 soldiers under Captain Manoel Rodrigues Coutinho.[10] In May 1553 the Muslim fleet under Irapāli consisting of some galleons and forty sloops attacked a small island called Mugel and twenty fishing boats and many Paravās were captured. Then, the garrison at Puṉṉaikāyal was besieged by 500 Muslim soldiers. Father Heras believed that these 500 soldiers were repulsed by the 50 Portuguese at first. Finally, the Portuguese had to give way and their Captain Coutinho had to take shelter behind the brick walls of their fort. They were all captured by the soldiers of Viṭṭhala while the Muslims under Irapāli took possession of the town along with the fort. Irapāli is said to have issued a proclamation to all the inhabitants of the fishery coast that the Portuguese rule had come to an end.[11]

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[8] The Aravidu Dynasty. P. 158.

[9] Couto VII. p. 249.

"When this news reached Cochin, the Portuguese of that settlement determined to avenge the offence to the Christian name and to their national honour. A Portuguese captain named Gil Fernandez de Carvalho offered to lead the forces against the Muslims. He was given a huge galliot, three lighters and one sloop. After three days, with one hundred and seventymen, they left Cochin and arrived at Puṉṉaikāyal where the Muhammadan fleet was lying a little to the north at Kiḻakkarai. In the naval fight that ensued near Kiḻakkarai both the Portuguese and the Muslims sustained severe losses and Irapāli, the Muslim leader, lost his life. But the Portuguese had to retreat to a neighbouring island. With the help of another Portuguese captain who was on his way to Nagapatam and with the aid of the Maṟava chieftain of Rāmnāḍ Gil Fernandez, now attacked the Muslims. In spite of the numerical superiority of the Muslims, the Portuguese won a victory over them.

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[10] Father Heras. Ibid. p. 159.

[11] Ibid, p. 160.

After this victorious campaign Gil Fernandez seems to have opened negotiations with Viṭṭhala for the rescue of of Captain Coutinho, his wife and children who became prisoners when Puṉṉaikāyal was captured and were under the custody of Viṭṭhala. But Viṭṭhala demanded a ransom of a hundred thousand fanams for Captain Coutinho and his family. Gil Fernandez was quite unwilling to accede to the demand. So, he sent a secret message through a Muslim of great influence who was also a friend of the Portuguese, to Rāmarāya at Vijayanagar asking for the favour of the liberty of Coutinho and his family. Rāmarāya seems to have granted their request and Viṭṭhala had to obey imperial orders by releasing Coutinho from prison at Tuticorin. However, Viṭṭhala seems to have demanded from Captain Coutinho the sum of a thousand pagodas which was partly given by the Parava Christians of the coast.

CHAPTER — XI

TĀLIKŌṬA AND THE TAMIḶ COUNTRY

The date 23rd January 1565 is an important landmark in the history of South India. It was the day on which the allied forces of the four Sulṭāns of Bijapur, Ahmadnagar, Gōlkoṇḍa and Biḍār completely routed the mighty army of the Vijayanagar empire under Rāmarāya and his brothers Tirumala and Veṅkaṭādri. The importance of this battle and its effects on the course of the history of South India have been variously estimated by different scholars. The Muslim historians of the Deccan regarded it as a Jihad or a holy-war against the infidels of Vijayanagar. Ferishta considered it as a punishment for Rāmarāya and his soldiers for their outrageous conduct at Ahmadnagar and their insolent behaviour towards the Muslims and their sacred religion. "The infidels of Beejanuggur left no cruelty unpractised. They insulted the honour of the Mussulman women, destroyed the mosques and did not respect even the sacred Korāṇ.[1] The Hindoos of Beejanuggur committed the most outrageous devastations burning and rasing the buildings, putting up their horses in the mosques and performing their abominable idolatrous worship in holy places.[2] The anonymous historian of Gōlkoṇḍa informs us, Ramaraja had not only laid waste the country of Hussain Nizam Ṣhah but also polluted the masjids by appropriating them for the use of his cattle and of his soldiers."[3] Sayyid Ali, the Nizam Shahi historian, who was a contemporary of Ferishta alludes to the devastation caused by the war and the oppression and death of Muslims at the

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1. Briggs. Ferishta· Vol. III· p. 120.
2. Ibid. p. 122.
3. Ibid. p. 412.

hands of the accursed infidels of Vijayanagar.[4] Robert Sewell, says that the name Tālikōṭa is destined to be for ever celebrated in the annals of South India.[5] Again, another scholar thinks, "Tālikōṭa was the climacteric of the Vijayanagar empire".[6] Father Heras regarded the battle of Tālikōṭa as the milestone that separated the era of Hindu splendour in the south of India from the age of Muhammadan expansion.[7]

The number of men, horses, elephants and guns used by the Muslim allies and the Hindu leaders in that battle differs according to the authorities which mention them. Here, we are concerned only with the numerical strength of the Vijayanagar army and the part played by the feudatories of the empire in the Tamiḻ country in the battle of Tālikōṭa. According to Ferishta the Hindu army consisted of 70,000 horse and ninety thousand infantry besides elephants and artillery.[8] The anonymous chronicler gives higher figures, namely one hundred thousand horse and three hundred thousand infantry.[9] Couto and Faria-y-Sousa while agreeing as to the number of horses, state that the foot-soldiers were more than six hundred thousand.[10] It is not possible to arrive at the definite number of men, animals and other war materials employed by Rāmarāya in the face of these conflicting numbers and staggering figures given by the above authorities. But, it may be safely surmised that the Vijayanagar army was a very formidable one.

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4. Further Sources· p. 266·
5. F. E. p. 199.
6. R. Sathianathaier. Vol. II. p. 295.
7. The Aravidu Dynasty. p. 218.
8. Ferishta. III. p. 247.
9. Ibid. p. 414.
10. Father Heras. Ibid. p. 200.

By a comparison with the numbers of infantry, cavalry and elephants used by Kṛiṣhṇadēvarāya at the battle of Rāichur we can see that the above mentioned figures at Tālikōṭa are not imaginary ones. Nuniz gives a rough estimate of Kṛiṣnṇadēvarāya's army at the battle of Rāichur as 600,000 infantry, 30 thousand cavalry and 600 elephants. Of these figures the imperial army of Kṛiṣhṇadēvarāya consisted of only 40 thousand infantry, 6 thousand cavalry and 300 elephants. Others consisted of the feudal armies of the various captains of the empire.[11]

If the extent and resouress of the Vijayanagar empire under Rāmarāya are compared with those under Kṛiṣhṇadēvarāya we can infer that the figures given by the anonymous historian and the Portuguese travellers are not a figment of their imagination. All the infantry, cavalry and elephants led by Rāmarāya could not have been a permanent force. At least three-fourths of them might have been supplied to him by his feudatories. Now, the question is whether the feudatory Nāyaks in the Tamiḷ country supplied their quota of men, horses and elephants to the central army against the national danger that was impending at Tālikōṭa. The answer must be an affirmative one. This inference is supported by Ferishta when he says, "Rāmrāj summoning all his dependents and Rājas from the banks of the Kṛiṣhṇa as far as the island of Ceylon brought together a force consisting of one hundred thousand horse and 300 thousand infantry and marched to oppose the confederates."[12]

Who were the feudatory Nāyaks in the Tamiḷ country that were bound to help the imperial forces against a common danger? They were the Nāyaks of Señji, Tāñjore and

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[11] F. E. p. 327.

[12] Ferishta. III. p. 413-14.

Madura. Did these Nāyaks take part in the famous battle of Tālikōṭa? If they had taken part what exactly were the services rendered by them to the imperial cause? These questions have not so far been answered and their answers are bound to throw plenty of light on the history of South India during this period.

Śeñji Nāyakship:

It will be profitable to probe into the early history of the Nāyakship of Śeñji to answer the above questions. Who were the Nāyaks of Śeñji and how did they come into the possession of the region? What were their relations with the imperia power? The origin of the Śeñji Nāyakship is a knotty problem and the history and chronology of the Nāyaks of Śeñji have never been analysed without uncertainty. "Śeñji became the seat of a line of Nāyak rulers whose jurisdiction extended along the sea-coast from the Pālār on the north to the Coleroon in the south."[13] From the time of Kumāra Kampaṇa Śeñji was one of the head-quarters of the Tundirarājya or the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam region. We know from the Ālampūṇḍi plates that Virupaṇṇa Uḍaiyar was the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara of the Śeñji province. But a regular Nāyakship of Śeñji seems to have been created during the time of Kṛishṇadēvarāya. Nārayaṇakōne mentions that during the reign of Kṛishṇadēvarāya the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam region was divided among several petty chieftains, who did not acknowledge the authority of the emperor. In order to reduce them to subjects Kṛishṇarāya sent a considerable army consisting of 100,000 men under the command of four chiefs named Vaiyappa Nāyaka, Tubāki Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka, Vijayarāghava Nāyaka and Vēṅkaṭappa Nāyaka.[14] The army encamped near Vellore and the chiefs in the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam region accepted the sovereignty of Kṛishṇadēvarāya and agreed to pay tributes. Vaiyappa fixed the tributes to be paid by all the chieftains who had submitted. From Vellore the imperial army proceeded to Śeñji where another conference was held and tributes from the chieftains of Chōḻamaṇḍalam were fixed. The emperor got three crores of rupees as tribute from these regions and the whole of the Tamiḻ country seems to have been divided into three divisions under three viceroys.[15] The first extended along the coast from Nellore to the river Coleroon and it was placed under Tubāki Kṛishṇappa who fixed his capital at Śeñji. The second was the fertile region watered by the river Kāvēri under Vijayarāghava and the third was the whole country south of the river Kāvēri which was assigned to Veṅkaṭappa who settled at Madura.[16]

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[13] C. S. Srinivasachari. A History of Gingee and its rulers. p. 65.

[14] Ibid. pp. 72-73.

Who was this Tubāki Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka who became the Nāyak of Śeñji during the reign of Kṛishṇadēvarāya? Both Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari and Father Heras have accepted the version of Nārayaṇakōne and regarded Tubāki Kṛishnappa Nāyaka as the founder of the Śeñji Nāyakship.[17] Further, Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari says, "Vaiyappa left the country appointing Tubāki Kṛishṇappa, his second in command, to rule over the land.[18]

Now, we have to enquire whether it was Vaiyappa or Tubāki Kṛishṇappa who was the first Nāyak of Śeñji and what were the relations between them. According to inscriptional evidences it was Vaiyappa Nāyaka who must be

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15. Taylor–Catalogue Raisonne. Vol. III. p. 39.
16. K. S. Charitam. History of Senji. p. 21.
17. C. S. Srinivasachari. Op. cit., p. 81 and Father Heras. The Aravidu Dynasty. p. 176.
18. C. S. S. Ibid.

regarded as the inaugurator of the *S*eñji Nāyakship and his son, Pedda Kṛishṇappa must be equated with Tubāki Kṛishṇappa of the above chronicle. Two records from Tirupparaṅkuṇṛam (Madura Dt.) give us the genealogical list of the Nāyaks of *S*eñji. According to these records the earliest member of this Nāyak family was one Ekkōji and the twelfth member, Srigirināiḍu and his wife Lakshmāmma came to Vijayanagar from Maṇināgapuram in Northern India. The 16th member was Vaiyyappa Nāyaka and his wife was Koṇdajāmma. Their son was Pedda Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka and he seems to have settled at Śeñji from Vijayanagar.[19] That the forefathers of Vaiyappa Nāyaka came from Maṇināgapuram is mentioned in another inscription also. Śūrappa Nāyaka, one of the Nāyaks of *S*eñji, is mentioned as the son of Peddappa Nāyaka of Kāśyapa Gotra, a native of Maṇināgapura.[20]

There are eight inscriptions in what was once the region of Śeñji Nāyakship and they mention about Vaiyappa Nāyaka. We have a record from Atti (Chingleput Dt.) dated 25—5—1526 which mentions Aḍaippam Vaiyappa Nāyaka of Kṛishadēvarāya. Through his influence with the king, one Timmu Nāyaka of Śattirapāḍi got certain previleges in the village of Atti.[21]

During the reign of Achyutarāya, Vaiyappa is mentioned in several inscriptions. The earliest of them comes from Jambai (S. A. Dt.) dated A. D. 1530. It mentions that by the order of Vaiyappa Nāyaka, Bommu Nāyaka of Vēlūr made a tax-free gift of a village to the *S*ivā temple at Jambai.[22]

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[19] Nos. 860 and 861 of 1918.

[20] No. 312 of 1921.

[21] 299 of 1912.

[22] 127 of 1906.

Another inscription from the same place dated 1530 mentions that Vaiyappa Nāyaka made another grant to the same temple for the merit of Achyutarāya in the nāyakkattāṉam of one Veṅkaṭādri Nāyaka.[23] On 12th December 1532 Vaiyappa Nāyaka founded an agrahāra in the village of Mādirimaṅgalam (N. A. Dt.) for the merit of Achyutarāya.[24] From No. 449 of 1938 we are able to know that on 12th May 1532 Vaiyappa Nāyaka ordered his subordinate, Bommu Nāyaka of Vēlūr to grant a tax-free village to the temple of Paḷḷichandal in Tirukkōyilūr Taluk, Another record from Teṉmahādēvamaṅgalam dated 3—12—1538 mentions that one Vaśavappa Nāyaka granted two villages Viṭṭhalapuram and Timmapuram for the merit of Vaiyappa Nāyaka.[25] From Kaḷavagunta (Chittoor Dt.) we get an inscription dated A. D. 1535 which mentions Vaiyappa as the Mahānāyankara of Achyutarāya and mentions him as the son of Chiṉṉa Timmayya Nāyaka.[26] Lastly comes another record from Vaḷayattūr (N. A. Dt.) dated 7—1—1541 according to which the treasurers of the temple of Vaḷayattūr got a donation of two villages from Vaiyappa Nāyaka for the merit of Achyutarāya.[27]

From these epigraphical evidences we are able to know that Vaiyappa was the Nāyak of Śeñji from 1526 to 1541. We can also infer that Vaiyappa Nāyaka was very loyal towards the sovereigns of Vijayanagar beginning from Kṛiṣhṇadēvarāya and he seems to have permanently been residing in the Tamiḻ country. Therefore, there can be no truth in the view of Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari that "After strengthening his master's authority in the south, Vaiyappa left the country appointing Tubāki Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka, his second in command, to rule over the land."[28]

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[23] 106 of 1906.

[24] 41 of 1934.

[25] 42 of 1934.

[26] 355 of 1940.

[27] 31 of 1934.

Who was the successor of Vaiyappa Nāyaka at Śeñji? Here is a knotty problem and there are as many names as there are sources for the genealogy of the Śeñji Nayaks. It will be convenient here to give a list of the various genealogical tables from the available sources.†

Of the four lists of the names given above, the name Vaiyappa Nāyaka occurs in three and he may be considered as the founder of the Śeñji Nāyakship. But Fr. Heras regarded Tubāki Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka as the first member of the Śeñji Nāyakship after the conquest of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam by Kṛishṇadēvarāya and that Tubāki Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka ruled upto 1521.[29] But we have seen above that Vaiyappa Nāyaka was a contemporary of both Kṛishṇadēvarāya and Achyutarāya from 1526 to 1541 and that he had been very loyal towards the Vijayanagar emperors. According to inscriptional evidences the successor of Vaiyappa was Pedda Kṛishṇappa.[30] This name is mentioned as Tubāki Kṛishṇappa in the Mackenzie Manuscripts and simply as Kṛishṇappa in the manuscript history of Śeñji.[31] Are we to assume all these names as referring to a single person. Since Tubāki and Pedda are merely prefixes, it is reasonable to assume that the successor of Vaiyappa Nāyaka on the Śeñji throne was one Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka who had the prefix of both Pedda and Tubāki. But, in inscriptions he is known only as Peddakṛishṇappa and not as Tubāki Kṛishṇappa, It is only in the Mackenzie manuscripts he is known with the former title.

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[28] C. S. Srinivasachari. Ibid. p. 81.

† Please refer page 251.

[29] Heras. Ibid. p. 176.

[30] Nos. 860 and 861 of 1917 etc.

[31] Mackenzie Manuscripts and I. A. Vol. 55.

The Nāyaks of Śeñji

	According to Inscription No. 860 of 1917	Indian Antiquary Vol. 55	Mackenzie Manuscripts	According to other sources
1.	Baiyappa Nāyaka	Muthiyal Nāyaka	Vaiyappa Nāyaka	Vaiappa Nāyak (1526–1544)
2.	Pedda Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka	Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka	Tubāki Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka	Pedda Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka
3.	Koṇdama Nāyaka	Chenam Nāyaka	Achyuta Vijaya Rāmachandra Nāyaka	Krishnappa Śūrappa X Y
4.	Muttukṛishṇappa Nāyaka	Vaiyappa Nāyaka		Vaiyappa Kṛishṇappa
5.	Kumāra Veṅkaṭappa	Gaṅgama Nāyaka	Muthiyālu Nāyaka	Koṇdamā Nāyaka
6.	Muthu Veṅkaṭappa (His brother)	Veṅkaṭakṛishṇa Nāyaka	Veṅkaṭappa Nāyaka	Muttukṝishṇappa Nāyaka
7.	Śeñji Varadappa Nāyak (Donor of the grant)	Veṅkaṭrāma Nāyaka Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka	Varadappa Nāyaka Appa Nāyaka	
8.	Rāmabhadra Nayaka	Varadappa Nāyaka		

Then, coming to his successor, both Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari and Father Heras regard one Achyuta Vijayaramachandra Nāyaka as the immediate successor of Tubāki Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka. The inscription which led them to believe so, is No. 244 of 1904. For the sake of avoiding ambiguity I will give the summary of the contents of the inscription below.

"In Saka 1459, during the cyclic year Hēvilambi in the month of Makara, bright fortnight, Friday and during the auspicious day, sangrama puṇyakalam,,(11–1–1558) Achyutarāya Nāyaka, the ruler of Chandragiri fort made some donations to the temple of Lord Chidambarēśvara of Chandragiri, and to Gōpināthaperumāḷ for the merit of king Achyutarāya Mahārāya."[31(a)]

The inscription definitely mentions Achyutarāya Nāyaka as the ruler of Chandragiri fort and not as the Nāyak of Śeñji. Therefore, he cannot be considered as one of the Nāyaks of Śeñji and his name is not found in the Tiruparaṅkuṇram inscriptions. Further, the date of the inscription is 11th January 1538 whereas Vaiyappa Nāyaka's inscriptions are available in the region of Śeñji upto 1541. So, Achyutarāya Nāyaka was only the governer of the fort of Chandragiri and not one of the Nāyaks of Śeñji. The successor of Peddakṛishṇappa Nāyaka who may be identified with Tubāki Kṛishṇappa was one Śūrappa Nāyaka. There are fourteen inscriptions in the Śeñji region which mention Śūrappa Nāyaka and Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka in the period between A. D. 1546 and 1575.

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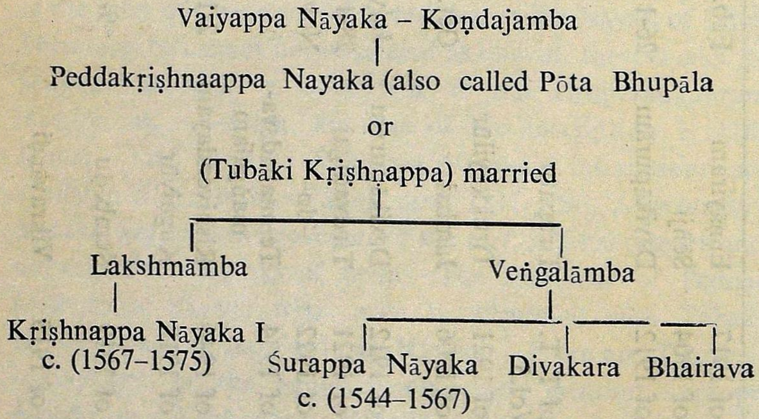
31. (a) No. 244 of 1904.

S. No.	Ins. No.	Place	Date	Substance
1.	332 of 1917	Eṇṇāyiram	Feb. 1546	Mentions Śūrappa Nāyaka
2.	240 of 1904	Śeñji	1550	-do-
3.	391 of 1912	Dēvikāpuram	26-11-1546	Mentions Śūrappa Nāyaka making gifts for the merit of Kṛishṇama Nāyaka.
4.	127 of T. T. D. Vol.5	Tirupati	1551	Mentions Śūrappa Nāyaka, son of Peddappa Nāyaka.
5.	312 of 1921	Tirukkōyilūr	1552	-do-
6.	104 of 1906	Jambai	Oct. 1559	Mentions Adaippam Śūrappa Nāyaka and Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka.
7.	403 of 1912	Dēvikāpuram	July 1556	Mentions Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka.
8.	411 of 1921	Tiruvadigai	28-11-1562	Mentions Śūrappa Nāyaka.
9.	70 of 1922	-do-	Nov. 1566	Mentions Śvāmi Śūrappa Nāyaka.
10.	49 of 1934	Teṇmahādēva-maṅgalam	1570	Mentions Kṛishṇama Nāyaka.
11.	118 of 1944	Rishivendayam	2-11-1567	Mentions Kṛishṇappa and Śūrappa.
12.	106 of 1918	Kugaiyūr	1562	Mentions Śūrappa Nāyaka and Adhihāram Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka.
13.	5 of 1919	Śembēḍu	9-5-1575	Mentions Pārapatyam Kṛishṇappa Nāyakar.
14.	283 of 1915	Vikravāṇḍi	Nil	Mentions Vaiyappa Nāyaka, Timmappa and Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka.

All the above inscriptions except one hail from the districts of North and South Arcots which formed the Nāyakship of Śeñji. Therefore, two Nāyaks, Śūrappa and Kṛiṣhṇappa or Kṛiṣhnama Nāyaka seem to have exercised power over the Śeñji region. What were the relations between them? How did it happen that two Nāyakas are mentioned in the same period in the same region? It is clear from the above inscriptions that Śūrappa Nāyaka was ruling over Śeñji during the reign of Śadāśivarāya roughly from A. D. 1554 to 1567. The poet Ratnakhēta Srinivāśa Dīkshita lived at the court of Śūrappa Nāyaka and dedicated to him the drama called Bhavaṇapurushōttama. This author mentions that Śūrappa was the son of Pōta Bhupāla by Veṇgalamba and had two brothers Divākara Nāyaka and Bhairava Nāyaka.[32] From these sources we can arrange the genealogy of the Nāyaks of Śeñji as follows:


Vaiyappa Nāyaka – Koṇdajamba
Peddakṛiṣhnaappa Nayaka (also called Pōta Bhupāla
or
(Tubāki Kṛiṣhṇappa) married
Lakshmāmba
Veṅgalāmba
Kṛiṣhnappa Nāyaka I
c. (1567–1575)
Śurappa Nāyaka
c. (1544–1567)
Divakara
Bhairava

This genealogical list is arrived at both from inscriptional and literary sources and it seems that Peddakṛiṣhṇappa had two wives. The son by the elder Lakshmāmba was

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[32] Sources. p. 272 (F. N.). Heras. Ibid. p. 177.
C. S. S. Ibid. p. 90.

Kṛiṣhṇappa Nāyaka who seems to have been of tender age when Peddakṛiṣhṇappa died. So, his son by his second wife, Śūrappa Nāyaka seems to have been recognised by Śadāśivaraya as the Nāyak of Śeñji and he was given the title of Aḍaippam Śūrappa Nāyaka. Many of the inscriptions which have been enumerated above refer to him with the title Aḍaippam, whereas Kṛiṣhṇappa Nāyaka is mentioned as Adhihāram Kṛiṣhṇappa. Therefore, both Śūrappa and Kṛiṣhṇappa seem to have been very loyal and obedient to emperor Śadāsivarāya and his regent Rāmarāya. Further, the author of Bhavaṇa-purushōttama gives Śūrappa the title of Karnātasimhāśaṇa-pratishtāpaṇachārya. Evidently, the title was assumed by Śūrappa Nāyaka in token of the services which he rendered to the Vijayanagar empire by taking part in the battle of Tālikōṭa. But, prof. C. S. Srinivasachari thinks that Śūrappa assumed this title because he helped either Tirumala or Sriraṇga I after the battle of Tālikōṭa.[33] But it may also refer to the help which Śūrappa had rendered to Rāmarāya at the battle of Tālikōṭa. Many of the inscriptions of Śūrappa Nāyaka definitely recognise the sovereignty of Śadaśivarāya and Rāmarāya. Therefore, he must have sent his feudal army to Tālikōṭa even though it is not possible to adduce direct evidence to prove it. It is also not possible to prove that the Nāyaks of Śeñji did not take part in the battle of Tālikōṭa. Śūrappa Nāyaka was the contemporary of Śadāśivarāya and Rāmarāya and from his attitude towards them we have to infer the above conclusion.

His successor was his brother Kṛiṣhṇappa Nāyaka who is mentioned in eight of the fourteen inscriptions mentioned above. Since he was young when his father died, Śūrappa, his elder brother by a different mother, became the Nāyak of Śeñji and after his death, Kṛiṣhṇappa seems to have assumed full and independent charge of the Nāyakship. He is mentioned in inscriptions dated A. D. 1546 to 1575. A very valuable record from North Arcot dated 14th June 1570 could have definitely proved the part played by the Śeñji Nāyaks at the battle of Tālikōṭa if it is available in full. As it is, it is highly damaged and it seems to mention that Kṛiṣhṇappa Nāyaka gave some lands to one Pichamagaṉ as udirapaṭṭi - that is lands given in compensation for taking part in a battle.[34] The successor of Kṛiṣhṇappa Nāyaka, according to inscriptions was Vaiyappa Kṛiṣhṇappa Koṇḍama Nāyaka. From his initials it is clear that he was the son of Kṛiṣhṇappa Nāyaka and the grandson of Vaiyappa Nāyaka.

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[33] C. S. Srinivasachari. Ibid. p. 90

Tañjore Nāyakship:

The Nāyaks of Tañjore who were contemporaneous with Achyutarāya were Śevvappa Nāyaka and Achyutappa Nāyaka. This Nāyakship came into existence after the defeat of Śāḷuva Narasiṅga Śellappa in July 1532. Śevvappa Nāyaka, son of Vāśal Timmappa Nāyaka was closely related to the emperor Achyutarāya as his wife Murtimāmba was the sister of Vardāmba, the queen of Achyutarāya. The Telugu works Tañjāvūri Āndhra Rājula charitam and the Tañjāvūri Vari charitam say that Śevvappa got Tañjore from the emperor as Sridhana for his wife while the Śāhityaratnākara mentions that Tañjore was acquired by *S*evvappa by his own valour.[35] Achyutarāya appointed *S*evvappa Nāyaka as the sole viceroy over the Chōḷa country which had till then been a part of the Pāṇḍya country.[36] He seems to have exercised his authority over the present Tañjore district and part of the North Arcot district. He was succeeded by his son Achyutappa Nāyaka and the rule of these two Nāyaks covers the period from A. D. 1532 to 1600.[37] It goes without saying that they were the Nāyaks of Tañjore during the reign of *S*adāśivarāya when the battle of Tālikōṭa was fought in January 1565. Now, we have to determine whether the Nāyak of Tañjore took part in the battle of Tālikōta. For determining this issue we have to review the early relations between the emperors of Vijayanagar and the Tañjore Nāyaks.

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[34] No. 49 of 1934.

[35] V. Vriddhagirisan. The Nayaks of Tanjore. p. 24.

[36] Sources. p. 323.

Timmappa Nāyaka, the father of Śevvappa Nāyaka, was the amaranāyaka of a part of the present North Arcot district and he is mentioned as the Vasal or door-keeper of Kṛishṇadēvarāya in A. D. 1519.[38] Two inscriptions of Kṛishṇadēvarāya mention Timmappa as one who had the high privilege of serving him as his door-keeper and as having taken part in the Rāichur campaign.[39] No. 145 of 1924 mentions *S*evvappa Nāyaka as the Daḷavay of Kṛishṇadēvarāya. Thus, Timmappa and his son Śevvappa were serving the Vijayanagar emperors before the latter was appointed to the Nāyakship of Tañjore by Achyutarāya. Śevvappa himself had the high honour of serving Achyutarāya as his Aḍaippam (betel bearer).[40] He was a loyal feudatory of Achyutarāya since he was closely related to him and owed his Nāyakship to the same emperor. Many of the inscriptions which record his gifts mention that he recognised the suzerainty of Achyutarāya and Sadasivarāya. The existence of a number of inscriptions of the above rulers in the Chōḷa country confirm their supremacy over the Nāyaks of Tañjore. There are eight inscriptions of Achyutarāya's period in Tañjore district and they all mention him as the supreme sovereign.[41] Further, Ṡevvappa Nāyaka seems to have named his son after the emperor Achyutarāya. "He, in all probability might have offered his help to Rāmarāja Viṭṭhala in his campaign against Travancore and against the Paravas of the fishery coast." According to Mr. Vriddhagiresan, even the mutual transfer of Trichinopoly and Vallam between the Nāyaks of Madura and Tañjore was effected by the sanction and approval of Achyutarāya.[42]

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[37] V. Vriddhagirisan. Ibid.

[38] 455 of 1906 dated S. 1441 and 167 of 1919 dated S. 1443.

[39] Nos. 455 of 1906 and 182 of 1932.

[40] 380 of 1919.

Ṡevvappa Nāyaka is mentioned in a number of epigraphs from A. D. 1541 to 1580 as the Nāyak of Tañjore. But he seems to have abdicated in favour of his son, Achyutappa Nāyaka in A. D. 1560 though he continued to live till 1580. During this period of twenty years both father and son, Ṡevvappa and Achyutappa, were the Nāyak and Yuvanāyak respectively. It was when Ṡevvappa Nāyak was alive that the battle of Tālikōṭa was fought, and the question that has to be raised and answered is whether the Nāyaks of Tañjore took part in that memorable battle. There are no direct evidences either epigraphical or literary to prove the fact that they had any part to play in the battle. But, from the previous and later attitudes of Ṡevvappa and Achyutappa we have to infer that they should have helped Rāmarāya in A. D. 1565.

Even before the battle of Tālikōṭa, there are inscriptions of Ṡadāṡivarāya in which Ṡevvappa Nāyak recognised him as the emperor. Nos. 140 of 1895 and 213 of 1901 from Tiruviḍaimarudūr and Koviladi in Tañjore district recognise Ṡadāṡivarāya as the emperor in A. D. 1545. A son of Aḷiya Rāmarāya, Kṛiṣhṇamarāssayaṉ had issued an order in A. D. 1560 by which one Jñanaprakāśa paṇḍaram of Tiruvārūr was appointed supervisor of the temples in three villages which were directly under the amaranāyakam of Śevvappa Nāyaka.[43] A record from Tiruveḷḷarai (Trichy Dt.) dated 23rd November 1563 mentions that Śadāśivarāya and his regent Kāmarāya were recognised as suzerains in the region under the rule of Śevvappa and Achyuta.[44] Therefore, it is but proper to infer that Śevvappa and his son Achyutappa would have responded loyally when Rāmarāya issued an appeal to his feudetories for help against the common enemies of the Vijayanagar empire from the Deccan. We can agree with the author of the 'Nāyaks of Tañjore' when he says, "The chronicles do not mention Śevvappa's help to the empire but all of them speak of his loyalty and faithfulness. Aa a loyal subordinate Śevvappa must have helped the empire in this hour of need along with other feudatories."[45]

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[41] 39 of 1897, 271 of 1907, 66 of 1908, 105 of 1911, 261 and 262 of 1917, 118 of 1931 and 116 of 1932.

[42] V. Vriddhagirisan. Op. cit., p. 29–30.

Even though the battle of Tālikōṭa ended against the interests of the empire, Śevvappa and Achyutappa continued their unflinching loyalty towards Śadāśivarāya and his second regent Tirumalarāya. In A. D. 1566 only a year after the battle of Tālikōṭa Achyutappa Nāyaka had recognised Śadāśiva as the sovereign.[46] From an inscription from Tiruvēṭkaḷam (Aṇṇāmalainagar) dated 22–1–1567 exactly two years after the battle of Tālikōṭa we know that Achyutappa Nāyaka made a grant of the village to the temple at Chidambaram for the merit of Tirumalarāya, the regent of Śadāśiva.[47] Therefore the Nāyaks of Tañjore were very loyal and sincere towards their Vijayanagar sovereigns right from the beginning of the Nāyakship.

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[43] No. 104 of 1911 from Sikkil, Tanjore District.
[44] No. 206 of 1939.
[45] V. Vriddhagirisan. Ibid. p. 31.
[46] 307 of 1923 fram Tirukkashtiyur dated November 1566.
[47] 259 of 1913.

The Nāyaks of Madura:

The date of the foundation of the Nāyakship of Madura is a much disputed point. Prof. Sathianathaier thinks that Madura Nāyakship was founded during the last year of Kṛishṇadēvarāya's reign in either A. D. 1530 or 1529.[1] Father Heras was of opinion that it was founded towards the close of the reign of Achyutarāya when Viśvanātha Nāyak had become the master of the kingdom of Madura.[2] Dr. Venkataramaṇayya rejects both these dates and asserts that the Nāyakship was founded not during the time of Viśvanātha Nāyaka but during the period of his son Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka, probably after the battle of Tālikōṭa.[3] Though we are not concerned here about the date of the foundation of the Nāyakship, yet for a proper assessment of the relations and attitude of the first two Nāyaks of Madura towards the Sovereigns of Vijayanagar and the part played by the second Nāyak (Kṛishṇappa) at the battle of Tālikōṭa, we have to proceed on a secure foundation of a reliable chronology. Of these dates a compromise could be arrived at by which the last date should have to be rejected and the truth seems to be that Madura Nāyakship was founded during the last year of Kṛishṇadēvarāya's reign and was confirmed by his successor Achyutarāya. Because, the earliest inscription which mentions Viśvanātha as the Nāyak of Madura is dated 26th March 1633 during the reign of Achyuta. The record refers to the gift of a village on the northern bank of the Vaigai in Pāṇḍyamaṇḍalam by Viśvanātha, son of Nāgama Nāyak, the ūḷiyam of the king, to the temple of Aḷagar for the merit of Achyutarāya.[4] From that date to A. D. 1564 Viśvanātha continued to be the ruler of Madura according to inscriptional evidences. No. 113 of 1908 from Tirupputtūr (Rāmnad Dt.) mentions that Achyutarāya made a gift of the village of Varaguṇaputtūr for the merit of Viśvanātha in A. D. 1535. A record from Sriraṅgam dated 1536 mentions Viśvanātha as an officer of Achyutarāya.[5] Another inscription from the same place dated 19–1–1540 refers to Viśvanātha Nāyaka as a feudatory of Achyuta.[6]

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[1] For a full discussion of this question see The Nayaks of Madura. pp. 39–47.

[2] Father Heras. The Aravīḍu Dynasty. p. 132.

[3] Further Sources. Vol. I. p. 241.

There are fourteen inscriptions of the period of Śadāsivarāya in which Viśvanātha Nāyaka recognised Śadāśiva as the imperial sovereign. In four of these records he recognised the authority of Rāmarāya, the regent. The inscriptions may be arranged as follows:

Ins. No.	*Place*	*Sovereign*	*Date*
99 of 118	Kugaiyūr	Śadāśiva	A. D. 1543
Burgess No. 21	Koṇḍagi	-do-	,, 1546
119 of 1907	Āḷvārkurichi	-do-	,, 1550
609 of 1916	Mēlachevval	-do-	,, 1550
599 of 1916	-do-	-do-	,, 1550
721 of 1916	Viravanllūr	-do-	,, 1551
273 of 1908	Karivalamvandanallūr	-do-	,, 1558
385 of 1916	Maṇṇarkoil (Tinnevelly)	Rāmarāya	,, 1560
S. C. P. 10	Tiṇṇevelly	-do-	,, 1560
Sewell. I. p. 209	Aṇṇiyūr	-do-	,, 1560
622 of 1915	-do-	-do-	,, 1560

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[4] No. 88 of 1929 dated S. 1454. Nandan, Mīṇa, Śu. 11. Wednesday.

[5] 43 of 1939 dated S. 1458; Hēviḷambi 12th Masi.

[6] 264 of 1930.

617 of 1915	Paṉamalai	Śadāśiva	A. D. 1560
494 of 1916	Iḍakal	-do-	„ 1561
495 of 1916	-do-	Nil	„ 1564

From these inscriptions we have to conclude that Viśvanātha Nāyaka was a loyal feudatory of both Śadāśivaraya and Rāmarāya right from the beginning to the end of his rule. Viśvanātha's co-operation with Rāmarāja Viṭṭhala in his campaigns against the Tiruvaḍi ruler and against the Portuguese in the fishery coast, his organisation of the pāḷaiyam system with the help of Ariyanātha Mudaliyār and his maintenance of peace and order within his Nāyakship all speak to his extreme loyalty and devotion to the imperial cause. Thereforc, we can agree with Prof. Sathianathaier when he says, "Viśvanātha seems to have faithfully executed the imperial plans for the administration of the kingdom. His subordination to Viṭṭhala, the imperial viceroy and to the emperors Achyuta and Śadāśiva and to the regent Rāmarāya is clear and he was a loyal representative of Vijayanagar in the south."[7] The same view is maintained by Father Heras also when he says, "Viśvanātha calls himself the agent of Śadāśiva in A. D. 1546; in 1558 he is called the agent of Rāmarāya; in 1560 he made a gift of taxes on looms for the merit of Aḷiya Rāmarājayyan. From these inscriptions and grants we know that Viśvanātha's relations with the empire were those of a faithful tributary to his overlord."[8]

The successor of Viśvanātha to the Nāyakship of Madura was his son Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka who succeeded his father in A. D. 1564. According to the Mrtyuñjaya Manuscripts, Kṛishṇappa was installed as the Nāyak on 11th Tai, Rudhirōdgari, corresponding approximately to 25th January 1564, that is, a year before the battle of Tālikōṭa. Even before his accession to the Nāyakship, when his father was alive, Kṛishṇappa was a very loyal feudatory of Śadāśiva and Rāmarāya. An inscription from Iḍakal (Tinnevelly Dt.) dated A. D. 1553 mentions a gift of land by Kṛiṣhnappa Nāyaka, the son of Viśvanātha Nāyaka for worship and repairs in a temple for the merit of Śadāśivarāya.[9] Another record from Tinnevelly dated A. D. 1562 mentions that Kṛiṣhṇappa Nāyaka made a gift of land for the merit of Rāmappadēva Maharaja who is evidently Rāmarāya.[10] Kṛiṣhnappa's loyalty to Śadāśiva is again expressed in an inscription dated 2nd May 1561 from Iḍakal.[11]

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[7] R. Sathianathaier Op. cit., pp. 64–65.

[8] F. Heras. Op. cit., p. 168.

Now, the most important question that must be answered is this. Did Kṛiṣhṇappa Nāyaka and his pradhāṇi and daḷavāy Ariyanātha Mudaliyār take any part at the battle of Tālikōṭa? Did their help materially affect the fortunes of the imperial forces? There are no inscriptional evidences to prove that either Kṛiṣhṇappa or Ariyanātha Mudaliyār took part in the battle. But. it is certain that Kṛiṣhṇappa Nāyaka did not go northwards. Because, we know of the rebellion of Tumbichi Nāyaka of Paramakkuḍi in the Madura region when Ariyanātha Mudaliyār was away from Madura. The first attempt of Kṛiṣhṇappa to put down the rebellion was a failure, but in the second attempt the Madura army under Chiṉṉa Kēśava was successful. Tumbichi was captured and executed though his two sons were pardoned and restored to a part of their father's pāḷayam. What induced Tumbichi Nāyaka to rebel against his immediate overlord? Probably he was waiting for an opportunity to revolt at a time when the Madura army was reduced in size and when Ariyanātha was away from the capital. The initial failure of Kṛishṇappa's army is an indirect evidence of the fact that a part of the Madura forces under Ariyanātha was sent to help the imperial army against the northern invaders. This contention is supported by the Mrtyuñjaya Manuscripts. "When the Mahomedans and the Mahrattas had invaded the Rāyer's dominions, he (Ariyanātha) proceeded tither from Madura with a great force. Before the Rāyer died in the midst of the battle, he wrote and gave him a will to the effect that after his death Ariyanātha should be accounted as his adopted son and giving up the country to him, bid him conquer the invading army. In obedience to this command, having paid homage to Durga, by her approval and aid, he overcame the Mahomedens and the Mahrattas, and then expressed his desire to assume the crown, to his relatives and other friends. But they advised him not to do so. He, therefore divided the Rāyer's dominions among Viśvanātha Naicker, Vīrarāghava Nāicker of Tanjore and the ruler of the Mysore country. He retained the office of the commander-in-chief of all these three kingdoms."[12]

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[9] 417 of 1916.

[10] 121 of 1894.

[11] 494 of 1916 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீமன் மகாமண்டலீசுரன் ... சதாசிவ தேவ மகாராயர் பிருத்விராஜ்யம் பண்ணியருளாநின்ற துன்மதி ௵ வைகாசி மீ 5 ௳ அமர பட்சம், சதுர்த்தசி, சுக்கிரவாரம், மூலநட்சத்திரம், விசுவநாதநாயக்கர் புத்திரன் கிருஷ்ணப்ப நாயக்கர் திருவடி தேசத்து முள்ளிநாட்டு இடகாலில் திருவம்பிகை ஈசுரமுடையார்க்கு மகாபூசைக்குத் தெரிச ....பெருநான்கெல்லையாவன –

Here, we get a useful but at the same time only a partly reliable account of important events in the history of the Tamiḻ country during this period.

We can agree with the author of the Mrtyuñjaya Manuscripts when he says that Ariyanātha went to the north from

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12. O. H. MSS. Taylor. Vol. II. p. 115.

Madura with a large force. But, it is impossible to give the number of soldiers or other items of the force led by him. It is a fact that Rāmarāya fell in the battle of Tālikōṭa. But, there were other important persons to take care of the empire rather than Ariyanātha. There was Śadāśivarāya the legal emperor and there were the brothers and sons of Rāmarāya himself. It is incredible that Rāmarāya made a will at the time of his death and appointed Ariyanātha as his adopted son. Every one knows that the battle of Tālikōṭa was a serious blow to the city and the empire of Vijayanagar and the Hindu army was annihilated. As against these facts it is not possible to believe that Ariyanātha overcame the Muslims and the Mahrattas by the grace of Goddess Durga. Tirumalarāya and his supporters withdrew to Penukoṇḍa and sent all their valuables to Tirupati after the battle of Tālikōta and then he declared himself as the regent of Śadāśivarāya. The Nāyakships of Tanjore and Madura were created by Achyutarāya and Viśvanātha was in the other world before the battle of Tālikōṭa was fought. The founder of the Tanjore Nāyakship was Śevvppa and not Vijayarāghava. The kingdom of Mysore came into existence during the time of the successors of Veṅkaṭa I. So, the Mrityuñjaya Manuscripts give wild and impossible tales about the life of Ariyanātha and we have to use it with great caution. There is only a grain of truth when it is mentioned that Ariyanātha went towards Tālikōṭa with a large force.

Father Heras also maintains that Ariyanātha Mudaliyār was sent by Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka to help the imperial forces when he says, "Kṛishṇappa did not proceed in person to help the empire, for his kingdom was not entirely subdued. But he sent his minister and general Ariyanātha Mudaliār with a large force.[13]

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[13] Father Heras. Ibid. pp. 198–199.

There is a solitary epigraphical evidence to prove the fact that the Nāyak of Madura helped the imperial forces at the battle of Tālikōṭa. The record mentions, "When in Vidyānagari, the famous Aḷiya Rāmarāya was killed by his enemies, Baśavarāja, who was in the vast ocean of distressed human beings, took shelter under Tirumala Nāyak, the latter protected him from his enemies Payati and Rachaviti and restored him to his native place."[14] This copper plate is a very useful and reliable one since it mentions that Rāmarāya was killed in the battle of Tālikōṭa and that the Hindu army was very much harassed. Two leaders are here mentioned as having taken part in the battle of Tālikōṭa. One of them was Tirumalai Nāyak, the son of Timma Nāyaka and grandson of Rāma Nāyaka. He was the chief of Chinthālapaḷḷi, a devout worshipper of God Raṅganātha, a supporter of brahmins, brave in war, generous, just and courteous. He employed in his wars iron guns which be charged with leaden shots.[15] Later, he continued to serve Vīrappa Nāyaka of Madura and took a prominent part in the battle of Vallamprakāra. This Tirumala Nāyaka saved Baśavarāja who was in great difficulties at the battle of Tālikōṭa. These two military officers must have joined the forces led by Ariyanātha to Tālikōṭa.

But this army from Madura did not alter in any way the results of the battle. Since the Muslim invasion of Vijayanagar was a well planned one and was sudden and unexpected to a certain extent, the result of the battle was also unexpected. Prof. Sathianathaier's doubt "that the help from Madura arrived a bit too late"[16] is not based on sure grounds.

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[14] The Pudukkottai grant dated. S. 1505. T. A. S. Vol. I. p. 84. Verses 161–164.

[15] Ibid. Verses 62–67.

[16] The Nāyaks of Madura. p. 68.

Because we find Tirumala Nāyaka and Baśavarāja in the battle field according to the Pudukkōṭṭai grant. Ariyanātha himself did not return triumphant from Tālikōṭa. He must have fled for his life along with others. Therefore Prof. Sathianathaier is probably right when he says, "The fact that he (Ariyanātha) returned to, and permanently settled in Madura within two years after the battle of Tālikōṭa (in Aksheya A. D. 1566–67) clearly shows that he became very much chastened by experience, and came back 'a sadder and wiser man,' if he had high ambitions."[17]

Results of battle of Tālikōṭa on the history of the Tamiḻ country:

Tālikōṭa had been regarded as the 'climacteric' of the Vijayanagar city and empire. Robert Sewell after describing the terrible devastations committed by the Bahmani Sulṭāns on the city of Vijayanagar, wrote "Here (after the battle of Tālikōṭa) my sketch of Vijayanagar history might well end, but I have thought it advisable to add a few notes on succeeding events. The empire, just now so solid and compact became disintegrated and from this time forward it fell rapidly to decay."[1] He, even regarded the history of the Araviḍu rulers as an uneventful one which need only to be summarised.[2] Mr. Sewell's views were based on that of Ferishta who wrote after A. D. 1612 as follows. "The kingdom of Vijayanagar since this battle (Tālikōṭa) has never recovered its ancient splendour."[3]

But we must know that these statements could be applied only to the city of Vijayanagar and not to the Vijayanagar empire.

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[17] Ibid. p. 73.

[1] R. Sewell. p. 209.

[2] Ibid. p. 213.

[3] Briggs. Ferishta. Vol. 3. p. 131.

The empire continued to exist with great splendour and glory for more than half a century till the battle of Tōppūr in 1616. Though the dazzling glory of the days of Kṛishṇadēvarāya, Achyutarāya, Śadāśiva and Rāmarāya had gone for ever, yet the vitality of the empire was preserved by the efforts of Tirumala, Sriraṅga I and Veṅkaṭa I. The rulers of the Āravīḍu dynasty deserted the capital city of Vijayanagar because circumstances forced them to transfer the capital first to Penukoṇḍa and then to Chandragiri and Vellore. Thus the Tamiḻ country became an important part of the Vijayanagar empire after 1565. We can even say that the defeat of the Vijayanagar forces at Tālikōṭa and the death of Rāmarāya increased the importance of the Tamiḻ region as an integral part of the empire during the reigns of Sriraṅga I and Veṅkata I. The final stage of the decline of the empire was witnessed in the Tamiḻ country during the reign of Sriraṅga III. Mr. Kṛishṇa Sastri is not far from the truth when he says, "For over a century, from the time of Śadāśiva almost down to the British settlement on the Coromandel Coast, ir must be said to the credit of the Karnāṭa kings, that they did not allow their prestige, as emperors of the vast Vijayanagar kingdom to suffer in any appreciable degree.[4] This view is supported by another scholar who is also of opinion that though the battle of Tālikōṭa changed the face of the city of Vijayanagar, yet the empire of Vijayanagar did not come to a close. "For a full century later, its supremacy was willingly recognised in the south (Tamiḻ country) and its memories lovingly enshrined in tradition and literature."[5] The epigraphical records of Sriranga I, Veṅkata I and even Ramādēvarāya and Veṅkaṭa II prove that they did exercise substantial power in the Tamiḻ country till 1642. An anonymous Jesuit writer who lived in Goa and wrote the biography of St. Francis Xavier in 1583 describes the condition of the Vijayanagar empire as follows: "This town (San Thome) is in the kingdom of Bisnāga, otherwise Narasinga which some years back was one of the largest, most powerful and richest kingdoms of the whole east; because, its sovereign ruled over numberless people and could raise an army of either one million or 1½ millon soldiers, so much so that all the kings and princes who were neighbours were subject to him."[6] William Finch referring to the period 1608–11 wrote that all along the coast as far as Cape Comorin was the mighty kingdom of Vijayanagar under whom the Portuguese held Saint Thome and Nagapatām but were not allowed to build a castle.[7]

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[4] A. S. I. Report 1911-12. p. 177.

[5] I A. Vol. 52. p. 11.

Prof. Sathianathaier in his recent work, "Tamiḻakham in the 17th century" has proved with reliable data and evidences that the post-Tālikōṭa history of Vijayanagar for nearly half a century was not fundamentally different from its history before 1565; and parallels in pre-Tālikōṭa history could easily be found to the happenings in the period following Tālikōṭa.[8] Even after the transfer of his capital from Vijayanagar to Peṉukoṇḍa in 1567, Tirumala was strong enough to interfere in the affairs of the Śultāṉs of Bijāpūr Gōlkoṇḍa and Aḥmadnagar with great credit and success and his control over the empire was not seriously questioned. But, Dr. Venkataramanayya sounds a different note about the effects of the battle of Tālikōṭa on the Vijayanagar empire when he says, "The death of Rāmarāja and the annihilation of the (Hindu) army in the battle of Rakṣaśi-Tangaḍi stupefied the people of Vijayanagara. The city and the empire were left without an army to defend them or a leader t

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6. Q. J. M. S. Vol. 14. p. 131.
7. Foster. Early Travels in India. 1921. p. 182.
8. Tamiḻaham in the 17th century. pp. 3–5.

gather forces for reorganising defence."[9] This view could be applied only to the city of Vijayanagara and not to the empire. Therefore, Tālikōta was undoubtedly the 'climacteric of the Vijayanagar empire. For more than half a century after the battle, the imperial authority was a living and potent force in South Indian politics and anti-Muslim resistance was offered effectively and even with credit. The emperors of the Āravīḍu dynasty continued to render significent service in preserving the political and cultural independence of South India.[10] This view is endorsed by W. H. Methwold and W. H. Moreland.[11]

In spite of the above mentioned facts some permanent results of the battle of Tālikōṭa on the course of the history of South India may be mentioned. The Rāichūr Doab was no longer the bone of contention between the Vijayanagar rulers and the Bahmini Sulṭāṉs. The region south of the river Kṛishṇa between the north latitudes 15^0 and 16^0 became the debatable land and the zone of the Hindu-Muslim conflict was pushed one degree of latitude southward. The city of Vijayanagar was abandoned by the emperors to its own fate and from 1592 Chandragiri and later Vellore became Vijayanagars. These two cities became the centre of the activities of the later emperors of Vijayanagar. [The control of the emperors over the Nāyaks in the Tamiḻ country and their contact with them became more effective than before. The loss of territories in the north and the west increased the importance of the Tamiḻ country and in course of time the Tamiḻ country became the *Vijayanagar Empire*. Chandragiri and Vellore came to be known as Vijayanagars and the rulers themselves as kings of Chandragiri and Vellore. Penukoṇḍa also lost its importance in the later half of the reign of Veṅkata I and the southern expansion and conquest by the Sultāṇs of Bijāpūr and Gōlkoṇḍa were directed towards the capitals in the Tamiḷ region Chandragiri and Vellore became the third and fourth lines of defence after the loss of Vijayanagar and Penukoṇḍa.

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[9] Further Sources. p. 291.

[10] Sathianathaier. Vol. II. p. 295.

[11] Relations of Golconda. p. 2 and Foot Note.

The loyalty and obedience of the Nāyaks in the Tāmiḻ country towards the emperors were put to a severe test. When the capitals were far away and the contact between the emperors and the Nāyaks were not close and intimate, the relations between them were cordial and loyal. But, nearness seemed to have estranged the relations between them though the estrangement could not be regarded as a direct result oJ the battle of Tālikōṭa.

Another important result of the battle of Tālikōṭa and the accession of Tirumala as the emperor of Vijayanagar with Penukoṇḍa as his capital, was the inauguration of a new system of government within the empire south of the river Kṛishṇa. The imperial territories were divided into three important viceroyalties and each one was entrusted to the care of one of the three sons of Tirumala. The Kūṇiyūr plates of Veṅkaṭa II, the Vaśucharitamu and the Rāmarājyamu mention the names of the four sons of Tirumala. They were Raghunātha, Raṅga, Rāma and Veṅkaṭa.[12] But Raghunātha, the eldest, seems to have died early and so the surviving three sons Raṅga, Rāma and Veṅkaṭa were appointed viceroys of the three divisions. Father Heras believed that this division was effected on a racial basis.[13] But, it must be noted that it was not a racial division but a linguistic one that is, the Telugu viceroyalty in the north, the Kanarese viceroyalty in the west and the Tamiḻ viceroyalty in the east and south.

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[12] The Arivilimangalam plates and the Maredapalli grant mention only one son of Tirumala, Ranga; the Vellangudi and the Dalavay Agraharam plates and the Vilapaka grant give two names Ranga and Venkata; three are to be found in the Chikkadēvārāya vamsavali. (See Father Heras - The Aravidu Dynasty p.254)

Tirumala appointed Sriraṅga, the eldest of the three surviving sons, the viceroy of the whole Telugu country with his capital at Peṉukoṇḍa.[14] The establishment of his capital at Penukoṇḍa took place later when he was appointed Yuvārāja, but the capital of his viceroyālty seems to have been Udayagiri, in the heart of the Telugu country. The Daḷavāy Agrahāram plates of Veṅkaṭa I mention that Sriraṅga made Udayagiri his capital, he conquered Koṇḍavīḍu, Viṉikoṅḍapura and other forts and then began to rule at Peṉukoṇḍa.[15] The Maredepalli grant, the Vellaṅgudi plates and the Padmanēri grant confirm this information.[16] It is quite evident from these grants that Raṅga's rule at Udayapuri was previous to his rule at Peṉugoṇḍa as emperor.

The next brother, Rāma was appointed governor of the Kanarese country which extended from the Kāvērī to the Arabian Sea with his capital at Sriraṅgappaṭṭinam. The Vaśucharitramu and the Chikkadēvarāya Vāmśāvaḷi mention Rāma as the governor of the Kanarese viceroyalty and that he ruled over the country in peace and prosperity.[17] By his wife Narasiṅgama, he had two sons Tirumala and Sriraṅga who played an important but pitiable part in the future history of Vijayanagar.

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13. Ibid.
14. Sources. p. 302.
15. E. I. Vol. 12. p. 186.
16. E. I. Vol. XI. p. 328, Vol. 16, pp. 297 and 328.
17. Sources. pp. 217 and 302.

The Tamiḻ country was entrusted to the third brother, Veṅkaṭa I. He was the superior viceroy over the Tūndira (Śeñji), Chōḻa (Tanjore) and Pāṇḍya (Madura) countries with his capital at Chandragiri,[18] and his duties were to control and to maintain the imperial authority over the three important Nāyakships of Śeñji, Tañjore and Madura in the Tamiḻ country. It is this 'Tamiḻ viceroyalty' which is directly concerned with this thesis and the relations between the Nāyaks and the emperors of Vijayanagar, Tirumala, Sriraṅga I and Veṅkaṭa I will be dealt with in the next chapter. The office of Veṅkaṭa was similar to that of Vīra Narasimha Nāyaka during the time of Kṛishṇadēvarāya, Śālakarāju Tirumala brothers during the reign of Achyutarāya and that of Achyutarāya and that of Viṭṭhalarāya during the reign of Śadāśivarāya and the regent Rāmarāya. But the difference was that the previous viceroys were not so closely related to the emperor as Veṅkaṭa was to his father and later to his brother, Sriraṅga I.

"This new administrative arrangement, inaugurated by Tirumala was intended to meet the then urgent necessities of the empire." The emperor, leaving the affairs of the provincial governments in the hands of his sons could devote himself for preventing the Muslim encroachments of the empire from the north. The modern doctrine of the division of a country on linguistic difference, was anticipated and administrative efficiency was aimed at. Since the viceroys were the sons of the emperor himself, the fear of rebellion was also eliminated.[19]

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[18] Ibid. p. 217.

[19] Father Heras. Ibid. p. 257.

CHAPTER — XII

FEUDATORY RELATIONS (1565–1614)

According to Ferishta the Vijayanagar empire had been seized by the tributary chiefs each of whom assumed independent power in his own district after the battle of Tālikōṭa. But he mentions only three chieftains who revolted against the imperial authority in the northern part of the empire. One of them was the chieftain of Ādōni, who had been a principal officer under Rāmarāya. The others were the chiefs of Dhārwār and Bankāpur.[1] Ferishta did not mention anything about the major feudatories of the empire such as the Nāyaks of Śeñji, Tanjore and Madura. The anonymous chronicler wrote "that most of the petty rajas of Beejanuggur had now bent their necks to the Mohomedan yoke."[2] This is only a reference to the feudal chieftains in the region north of Penukoṇḍa which came under the rule of the Sulṭāns of Bijāpur and Gōlkoṇḍa.

What was the attitude of the Nāyaks in the Tamiḻ country towards the empire and the emperor after the battle of Tālikōṭa? Did the battle of Tālikōṭa transform the Nāyaks from loyal and obedient feudatories into unwilling and disloyal rebels? Or, did they continue to be loyal till the great civil war which became the "Grand climacteric of the Vijayanagar empire?" These are the problems that we have to solve in this chapter. On these questions, as on others, there are different views. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya is of opinion that the battle of Tālikōṭa sowed the seeds of feudatory revolts, mutual quarrels and unauthorised warfare among the

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[1] R. Sathianathaier. Tamiḻakham in the 17th century. p.13.

[2] Briggs. Ferishta. Vol. III. p. 453.

Nāyaks in the Tamiḻ country. Since they were free from Muslim invasions, the Nayaks thought of becoming independent of imperial control. With that view Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka of Śeñji was said to have seized a large part of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam region. Achyutappa Nāyaka of Tanjore, who was enjoying the amaram of a few śimās in Tanjore district usurped the authority over Chōḻamaṇḍalam. Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka I, the son of Viśvanātha Nāyaka established himself at Madura and made himself the ruler of Pāṇḍyamaṇḍalam Tirumala, the emperor, was helpless against these usurpations.[3] It becomes necessary to examine these views of the author in the light of inscriptions. chronicles and other sources of history. While expressing these views Dr. Venkataramanayya did not state clearly whether the Nāyaks in the Tamiḻ country became independent soon after the battle of Tālikōṭa or did they attempt to overthrow the imperial authority by refusing to pay tribute later. The period of this assumed independence, that is, whether it was at the time of Tirumala or Sriraṅga I, had not been pointed out. So, we have to examine these statements and arrive at the probable state of affairs which determined the relations between the Nāyaks and the emperors.

First of all we must take up the relations between the emperors Tirumala, Sriraṅga I and Veṅkaṭa I and the Nāyaks of Śeñji after the battle of Tālikōṭa. I have pointed out in the previous chapter that Śūrappa Nāyaka (1544–1567) of Śeñji was the contemporary of Rāmarāya and he might have taken part in the battle of Tālikōṭa in A. D. 1565. His successor Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka I (1567 - 1578) was the contemporary of both Tirumalarāya and his successor Sriraṅga I. From four inscriptions we are able to know that Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka I of Śeñji had recognised the emperor Sriraṅga as his overlord in A. D. 1573, 1576 and 1578. The first of these records comes from Tirunāvalūr (S. A. Dt.) dated 17—1—1573 and mentions that Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka was the agent of Sriraṅga I in the districts of Śeñji, Paḍaiviḍu and Tiruvaṇṇāmalai.[4] The next record from Tippaśamudram dated January 1576 registers the gift of a village by Chiṇṇa Bomma Nāyaka of Vellore with the permission of his overlord Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka I of Śeñji and Sriraṅgadēva Mahārāya to the Śivā temple at Vellore.[5] From these two records it is clear that Kṛishṇappa I of Śeñji was a loyal feudatory of Sriraṅga I. An undated record from Tirukkōyilūr (S. A. Dt,) mentions Kṛishṇappa as the agent of Sriraṅga.[6] Kṛishṇappa is again mentioned as the feudatory of Sriraṅga in an inscription from Tiruvāmāttur dated 28–2–1573.[7] No. 55 of 1936 dated 4–8–1578 mentions one Vaiyappa Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka recognising the sovereignty of Sriraṅga I. Against these inscriptional evidences how are we to accept the statement that Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka I of Śeñji made himself an independent ruler in the region of Toṇḍaimandalm? Therefore, the theory that the Nāyaka of Śeñji assumed independence soon after the battle of Tālikōta is untenable.

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[3] Further Sources. Vol. I. p. 295.

One of the omissions in the history of the Nāyaks of Śeñji and their attitude towards the emperors of Vijayanagar is the part played by one Koṇḍama Nāyaka. He is known in inscriptions as Vaiyappa Kṛiśhṇappa Koṇḍama Nāyaka. Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari had never mentioned this Vaiyappa Kṛishṇappa Koṇḍama as one of the Nāyaks of Śeñji. Rev. Father Heras regarded him as a minor chieftain who built the wall round the Vishṇu temple at Srimushṇam.[8] But he is mentioned as the son of Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka I and the grandson of Vaiyappa Nāyaka in the two Tirupparaṅkūṉṟam records which give a genealogy of the Señji Nāyaks.[9] There are twelve inscriptions in the region of Śeñji Nāyakship which mention Koṇḍama Nāyaka with the initials of Vaiyappa Kṛishṇappa which only mean that he was the son of Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka and the grandson of Vaiyappa Nāyaka. These inscriptions are dated between A. D. 1580 and 1594 and in these records this V. K. Koṇḍama Nāyaka accepts both Srira*n*ga I and Ve*n*kata I as Sovereigns.

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[4] 273 of 1940.

[5] 173 of 1943.

[6] 378 of 1921.

[7] 65 of 1922.

The earliest of these records hails from Kāppalur (N. A. Dt.) and is dated 2nd January 1580. It mentions that a maṇḍapa was erected for the merit of Koṇḍama Nāyaka, the ruler of Śeñji, who was a subordinate of Sriraṅga I.[18] In an inscription from Srimushṇam dated October 1581, rāyasam (letter writer) Veṅkaṭayyar, an officer of V. K. K. Nāyaka is mentioned and both the Nāyak and the officer are referred to as the agent and servant of Sriraṅga I respectively.[11] A record from Chidambaram dated February 1582 mentions that V. K. K. Nāyaka made a gift of seven villages and the income from pepper trade for oblations and festivals for the Siva temple at Chidambaram during the reign of Srira*n*ga I.[12] That Koṇḍama Nāyak was the son of Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka and the grandson of Vaiyappa Nāyaka and a loyal feudatory of Srira*n*ga I is again mentioned in an inscription from Srimushṇam dated 20th May 1582.[13] These

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8. Father Heras. Op. cit., p. 289.
9. 860 and 861 of 1917.
10. 280 of 1939.
11. 265 of 1916.
12. 348 of 1913.
13. 263 of 1916.

inscriptions prove beyond a shadow of doubt that V. K. Koṇḍama Nāyaka was a loyal feudatory of Srirangarāya.

The same loyalty of Koṇḍama Nāyaka is found expressed in the inscriptions belonging to the early stage of the reign of Veṅkaṭa I. A record from Chidambaram dated August 1585 mentions that during the reign of Veṅkaṭa I, V. K. K. Nāyaka made a gift of four villages to the temple of Lord Natarāja and Śivakāmi Amman for the merit of the emperor.[14] During the next year a grant is recorded by one Mallappa Nāyaka for the merit of V. K. K. Nāyaka during the reign of Veṅkaṭapatirāya.[15] Not only V. K. K. Nāyaka but also his son-in-law, Virupparāśar a subordinate Nāyaka of Tirukkōyilūr recognises the suzerainty of Veṅkṭa I in A. D. 1587.[16]

In A. D. 1589 the same Nāyaka is mentioned as a loyal feudatory of Veṅkaṭa I in an inscription from Chidambaram. The record mentions that V. K. K. Nāyaka ordered that the thirty rice offerings for which he had provided 25 thousand bags of paddy be distributed among the Saiva mendicants for the merit of the king.[17] No. 284 of 1940 dated 2–3–1590 mentions a gift of Koṇḍama Nāyaka, son of Kṛiṣhṇappa Nāyaka to a temple at Viruddhāchalam during the reign of Veṅkaṭa I. Two other reeords dated 1592 and 1593 mention him as a loyal subordinate of Veṅkaṭa I.[18]

It is these epigraphical evidences which prove that the successor of Kṛiṣhṇappa Nāyaka I was V. K. Koṅḍama Nāyaka and both of them had recognised the sovereignty of

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[14] 334 of 1913.

[15] 262 of 1916.

[16] 265 of 1935.

[17] 339 of 1913.

[18] 369 of 1913 and 258 of 1916.

Sriraṅga I and Veṅkaṭa I as their imperial overlords. Then, there was no question of their assertion of independence of the Vijayanagar rulers. It is not definitely known how long V. K. K. Nāyaka continued to rule over Śeñji. But his successor Muttukṛishṇappa Nāyaka of Śenji is mentioned in an inscription dated A. D. 1597. A copper plate grant from Cuddalore states that Muttukṛishṇappa Nāyaka of Śenji presided over a social conference in which a certain Koṇḍiyadēva of Viruddāchalam was conferred several titles and rights.[19] A lithic record from Chidambaram dated 30th June 1598 mentions Muttukṛishṇappa as the son of V. K. K. Nāyaka and he seems to have recognised the sovereignty of Veṅkaṭa I till that date.[20] There are no further records during the reign of Veṅkaṭa I mentioning Muttukṛishṇappa Nāyaka of Śenji. Therefore, the successor of V. K. K. Nāyaka at Śenji was his son Muttukṛishṇappa and he seems to have followed in the footsteps of his father in his attitude towards the emperor of Vijayanagar during the early years of his rule. Are Muttukṛishṇappa and the Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka of the Jesuit letters one and the same? The Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam inscriptions mention the successor of Koṇḍama Nāyaka as Muttukṛishṇappa. The Jesuits like Father Pimenta and Perron call him Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka and in Telugu literature also he is known as Kṛishṇappa. For the sake of convenience he may be called Kṛishṇappa II.

Epigraphical sources for the full history of Śeñji during the time of Kṛishṇappa II are only a few. But, fortunately we have enough foreign evidence giving us plenty of information about this Nāyak of Śeñji. The most important foreign evidence is the letters of Father Nicholas Pimenta. He started from Cochin in A. D. 1598, came to Chidambaram and then to Śeñji through Cape Comorin, Tuticorin. Puṉṉaikāyal, Talimaṉṉār, Negapatām and Trańqubār. From Trańqubār he had to travel on foot for twelve days to reach San Thome. On his way he stayed at Chidambaram which he calls the mother city of superstitions.[21] Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka II of Śeñji was then staying at Chidambaram superintending the repairs to the Govindarāji temple. Here is ā description of Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka II at Chidambaram where Father Pimenta met him. "The Naichus of Gingi was come thither (Chidambaram) in whose dominion it standeth, He commanded that we should be brought to his presence. Before us 200 Brahmins went in rank to sprinkle the house with holy water and to prevent sorcery against the king."[22] Father Pimenta and his friends saw Kṛishṇappa Nāyak sitting on a silk carpet leaning on two cushions, wearing a long golden chain. He was very much astonished to find that the Jesuit fathers did not chew the betel offered to them. Then he gave the fathers several gifts and requested them to send a Christian priest for a new town which he was erecting.[23]

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[19] C. P. No. 11 of 1935.

[20] 352 of 1913.

From Chidambaram Father Pimenta and his friends travelled to Śeñji where they had another meeting with Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka. Pimenta's description of Śenji fort and the wealth of the Nāyak are very interesting. He regarded Śeñji as one of the strongest and richest forts bigger than many forts in Portugal except Lisbon. "In the midst of the city there is a castle framed into bulwarks and turrets and made impregnable. The next day the inner part of the castle was shown to them having no entrance but by the gates which were perpetually guarded. They saw much ordnance, powder and shot, and a spring of clear water. The Nāyak was guarded homeward with a thousand armed men; in the streets were ranked three hundred elephants as it were fitted to the war.[24]

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[21] Purchas. His Pilgrimes. Vol. X. p. 206.

[22] Ibid. p. 208.

[23] Ibid.

This is the information which we get from Father Pimenta in A. D. 1599. He also mentions that there were two subordinate chiefs subject to the authority of Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka and they were the princes of Tiruvadigai (near Paṉruti) and Salavacha (the Śōḻaga of Dīvukkōṭṭai) who helped him to travel safely from Śeñji to San Thome. Besides these two, the Nāyak of Vellore, Liṅgama, the son of Chiṉṉa Bomma, the patron of Appaiyya Dīkshitā, was also subject to Kriṣnappa. We know also from the same source that Kṛishṇappa was causing to be erected a new town named after him Kṛishṇappaṭṭinam at the mouth of the river Veḷḷār, which is the modern town of Porto-Nōvo. One of the Jesuit letters of A. D. 1606 states that among the three Nāyaks (of the Tamiḻ country) "He of Śeñji was the most powerful and he had divided his dominions among other smaller Nāyaks."[25]

Father Pimenta makes another significant observation pertaining to our purpose, that is the relation between the Nāyak of Śenji and the emperor of Vijayanagar. Veṅkaṭa I was then the most powerful ruler and he was residing at Chandragiṟi in A. D. 1599. The titles assumed by him which are enumerated by Pimenta are fairly good equivalents of those which are found in the inscriptions of Veṅkaṭa I and his kingdom extended from Cape Comorin in the south to the dominions of Adil Shah of Bijāpūr in the north.[26]

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[24] Ibid. p. 208.

[25] Father Heras. Ibid. p. 407.

[26] Purchas. Op. cit., p. 209.

Therefore, Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka of Śeñji was subject to the imperial authority till A. D. 1599.

When did Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka rise in revolt against Veṅkaṭa I?

Did Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka II of Śeñji continue to be a loyal feudatory till the death of Veṅkaṭa I? Or, did he revolt against the imperial authority? If he had revolted, when and how many times did he rebel? These are some of the problems which must be solved now. Two great historians of South India seem to have believed that Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka rebelled against Veṅkaṭa I soon after his accession in A. D. 1586–87. In 1586 Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka seems to have rebelled against Veṅkaṭa I who captured him and imprisoned him.[27] Father Heras also seems to have supported this view when he says that Kṛishṇappa was probably one of the chiefs who revolted against Veṇkaṭa I (II according to him) in the beginning of the latter's reign.[28] Both these scholars seem to have held the view that the rebellion of Kṛishṇappa of Śeñji took place soon after the accession of Veṅkaṭa I who sent against the rebellious Nāyak an army under the leadership of one Veṅkaṭa, an elder brother of the Kāḷahaśti chief Aṅkabhūpāla. They further state that the Nāyak of Señji was defeated, captured prisoner and was imprisoned at the capital of Veṅkaṭa I.

Now, we must examine the above contention in the light of the various sources of information. The defeat and imprisonment of Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka by the emperor and his later release from prison by the influence of Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore is mentioned in Raghunāthabhūdayam and 'Śahityaratnākara'.[29] As a reward for this service Kṛishṇappa of Śeñji is also said to have given his daughter in marriage to Raghunātha Nāyaka. It is on the basis of this evidence that the above mentioned views have been held. But, if we scrutinise these sources carefully, we can find that Kṛishṇappa did not rise in revolt soon after the accession of Veṅkaṭa I and that he rebelled only once after A. D. 1600.

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[27] Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari. Op. cit., p. 93.

[28] The Aravidu Dynasty. p. 403.

[29] Sources. pp. 282 & 272.

When Veṅkaṭa I ascended the throne at Peṉukoṇḍa in A. D. 1585, the Nāyak of Śeñji was Vaiyappa Kṛishṇappa Koṇḍama Nayaka. He was ruling over Śeñji from A.D. 1580 to 1593 according to inscriptional evidences.[30] Probably, Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka II succeeded his father, only after A.D. 1594 and a record dated A. D. 1598 from Chidambaram proves his recognition of the authority of Veṅkaṭa I. Next year (1599) Father Pimenṭa met him at Chidambaram and at Śeñji. Though Pimenta mentions many incidents connected with the life of Kṛishṇappa, he never states that he had previously risen in revolt against Veṅkaṭa I and that he was imprisoned and later released by the influence of Raghunātha of Tanjore. From the description of the fort at Śeñji and the wealth possessed by Kṛishṇappa given by Pimenta there are no traces of a defeated and discontented ruler bemoaning his past failure. We can even say that Kṛishṇappa was preparing for a revolt because the fort at Śeñji was kept in a very good condition, equipped with all materials necessary to stand a long siege.[31] Therefore, it is probable that Kṛishṇappa revolted only after A. D. 1599 that is after the visit of Pimenta to Śeñji.

Why did Kṛishṇappa rise in revolt?

Relying on the statements of Caesar Frederick and Anquetil du Perron, Father Heras was of opinion that the

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[30] Refer. ante.

[31] Purchas. Ibid. p. 208.

Nāyaks of Tanjore, Madura and Śeñji gave up all allegiance to Veṅkaṭa I who was supposed to be the murderer of the late emperor Śadāśiva and these rebellions took place before 1595.[1] If the crime had been committed by Veṅkaṭa at the instigation of his father, Tirumala, why did the brahmins, nobles and warriors of the empire assent to the accession of Veṅkaṭa "by their unanimous vote?"[2] Further, it is certain that the Nāyaks of Tanjore never rebelled against either Veṅkaṭā or his predecessors. It was only the other two Nāyaks of Śeñji and Madura who did so. The cause of the rebellion of the Nāyak of Śeñji seems not to be the supposed crime committed by the emperor when he was young but his interference in the internal administrative affairs of the Nāyakships. It is a well known fact that empires in India, as elsewhere, have declined due to centrifugal tendencies exhibited by the feudatories and the Vijayanagar empire was no exception to the rule. From A. D. 1592 Chandragiri became the permanent capital of Veṅkaṭa I and the transfer of the capital from Peṉukoṇḍa to Chandragiri was intended to make his authority over the Nāyaks of the Tamiḻ country more intensive than before.[3] The Nāyaks on their part began to resent the interference of Veṅkata I in their internal affairs and evaded payment of tribute.

The first instance of the interference of Veṅkaṭa I is in the case of the Nāyak of Vellore who was nominally subject to the Śeñji Nāyak. The region south of the Pālār and north of the Coleroon was generally under the rule of the Nāyaks of Śeñji and it was divided into three subordinate Nāyakships of Vellore, Tiruvadigai and Śōḻaga according to the evidence of Father Pimenta. Of these the most important was the

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[1] Father Heras. Op. cit., p. 308.

[2] Ibid. p. 301.

[3] Q. J. M. S. Vol. 14. p. 137–131.

Nāyakship of Vellore. The founder of the Vellore Nayakship was one Chiṉṉa Bomma Nāyaka whose earliest inscription is dated A. D. 1549.[4] He continued to be the ruler of Vellore during the time of Śadāsiva and Rāmarāya and his jurisdiction extended over the villages of Ārpākkam, Ariyūr and Śaduppēri all of which are near Vellore. During the reign of Śrīraṅga I he is mentioned as a feudatory of the Nāyak of Śeñji and the emperor.[5] In 1576 Chiṉṉa Bomma Nāyaka made a gift of the village of Tippaśamudram with the permission of Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka of Śeñji to the Śivā temple at Vellore.[6] During the reign of Veṇkaṭa I, a Bomma Nāyaka is mentioned in an inscription dated 6–8–1595.[7] This Chiṉṉa Bomma Nāyaka is said to have patronised Appaiyya Dīkshita and honoured him with the ceremony of Kaṉakābhishēkam.[8]

The successor of Chiṉṉa Bomma Nāyaka was his son Liṅgama Nāyaka. He continued to be a feudatory of the emperor till the issue of the Viḷāppakka grant dated 3rd May 1601.[9] But the grant does not mention whether Liṅgama recognised the immediate superiority of the Nāyak of Śeñji on that date. Perhaps Liṅgama was encouraged by Veṅkaṭa I to disregard the authority of Kṛishṇappa of Śeñji for his own selfish interest. After having detached Liṅgama of Vellore from allegiance to Śeñji, Veṅkaṭa I seems to have done another piece of destructive work which converted Liṅgama from a loyal feudatory into an inveterate enemy. The present taluks of Chingleput and Madurāntakam were known as Perumbēḍu-śima during the reign of Veṅkaṭa I and it was

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4. S. I. I. Vol. I. p. 84 and 87.
5. 43 of 1887.
6. 173 of 1940.
7. 105 of 1943.
8. Sources. p. 251.
9. E. I. Vol. 4. p. 271.

subject to the rule of the Nāyak of Vellore. But, Veṅkaṭa I bestowed it on one Yāchama Nāyak, son of Velugōṭi Kastūri Raṅgappa, as his *amaram* with the intention of breaking the power of Liṅgama and asserting the authority of the imperial government.[10] Yāchama took possession of his new estate and having made Madurāntakam his headquarters, he conquered the fort of Uttiramērūr from Nāga, a subordinate of Liṅgama of Vellore. This policy of Yāchama seems to have been approved by Veṅkaṭa I and it converted both the Nāyak of Vellore and the Nāyak of Śeñji into rebels.

Battle of Uttiramērūr:

Now, Liṅgama, the Nāyak of Vellore, took up the cause of Nāga and formed an alliance against Yāchama and the emperor. Dr. Venkataramanayya is of opinion that the Nāyaks of Madura, Tanjore and Śeñji joined this alliance against the emperor.[11] Since this alliance could have been formed only after 1601 (after the issue of the Viḷāppākka grant) and since Raghunātha Nāyak was ruling at Tanjore it is impossible to believe that Raghunātha supported Liṅgama against Veṅkaṭa I. It is also unthinkable that Muttukṛishṇappa Nāyaka of Madura joined the Nāyak of Vellore, because two records dated 1602 and 1604 prove his recognition of Vijayanagar supremacy.[12] It might be possible that the Nāyak of Śeñji alone supported Liṅgama. According to Dr. Venkataramanayya, Liṅgama and his subordinate, Nāga collected a large army consisting of 100 elephants, 500 pairs of horses, 10,000 archers, 12,000 matchlockmen and 30,000 infantry, all under the command of Dāvula Pāpa Nāyudu.[13] With this formidable force Dāvula Pāpa marched towards Uttiramērūr and besieged the fort on 31st May 1601.[14] But Yāchama had the imperial support of Veṅkaṭa I and it enabled him to defeat the forces of Liṅgama and Nāga. Dāvula Pāpa was slain in the battle. For this splendid victory Veṅkata I honoured Yāchama Nāyaka with plenty of gifts.

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[10] Further Sources. Vol. I. p. 321.

[11] Ibid. p. 322.

[12] The Nāyaks of Madura. p. 95.

[13] Further Sources. Vol. I. p. 322.

This siege of Uttiramērūr and the subsequent victory of the imperial forces naturally led to the conquest of Vellore from Liṅga and then to the invasion and conquest of Śeñjl by Veṅkaṭa I.

Conquest of Vellore (A. D. 1604):

Why did Veṅkaṭa I invade, conquer and then put an end to Vellore Nāyakship? Father Heras poses this question but rests content with the answer that nobody knows the answer.[15] One of the causes of the rebellion of Liṅgama Nāyak given by Rev. Heras was the assassination of Śadaśiva which is supposed to have taken place about A. D. 1560. Even if Veṅkata had murdered Śadāśiva, will it be reasonable to argue that Liṅgama rose in revolt thirty four years later in A. D. 1604? So, we must seek for causes other than this. From the Jesuit letters it is clear that Liṅgama wanted to form a small principality independent both of the immediate lord, the Nayak of Śeñji, and of the emperor himself. Liṅgama would have been successful but for Veṅkaṭa I, whose main aim was to keep the Tamiḻ country under strict control through his Nayaks and if possible even to annihilate them. It was with that view that Veṅkaṭa seems to have transferred his capital from Peṇukoṇḍa to Chandragiri. Therefore, he could not allow any of his Nāyaks either to evade tribute or to become independent. Without understanding this determination of the emperor, Lingama was bold enough to defy both the Nāyak of Śeñji and the emperor. Further, Lingama thought that he was too rich and strong to be defeated by the imperial forces.[16] Dr. Veṅkataramanayya thinks that Liṇgama of Vellore seems to have collected an army with the object of retrieving the disaster at Uttiramērūr.[17] The perennial unwillingness of the Nāyaks to pay the customary tribute was the most important cause of this invasion.

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[14] Ibid.

[15] Heras. The Aravidu Dynasty. p. 317.

Father B. Coutinho who was then living at Chandragiri mentions in a letter dated 27th May 1604 the procession in which Liṅgama Nayaka of Vellore was brought a prisoner to Chandragiri. The siege of Vellore by Cheṉṉa Nāyaka is said to have lasted for two months. From these references Rev. Heras believes that the imperial army under Cheṉṉa Nāyaka started from Chandragiri in October 1603.[18] Who was this Cheṉṉa Nāyaka who led the army against Lingama of Vellore? We are informed of him by a Telugu work called Bahuḷāśvacharitam. This Cheṉṉa Nāyak was the husband of Akkamma, the younger sister of Yāchama Nāyak, the son of Vēlugōṭi Kasturiranga. He defeated Liṅga of Vellore on the plains of Munnāl and captured the fortress of Vellore with its high fortifications and deep moat.[19] Liṅgama was quite prepared for the imperial attack and at first Cheṉṉa Nāyak was forced to retreat from the fort of Vellore. But, Lingama accidentally became a prisoner in the hands of Cheṉṉa by the treachery of two of his officers who were befriended by Cheṉṉa. But the siege dragged on and the sons of Lingama Nāyak continued the fight. Though

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16. Ibid.
17. Further Sources. Vol. I. p. 323.
18. Heras. Ibid. p. 317.
19. Sources. p. 305.

he offered twentyfive lakhs worth of gold, precious stones and pearls as ransom, Cheṇṇa was not the man to be tempted by the offer. He informed Venkaṭa I at Chandragiri to the effect 'that now was the time to fill the royal coffers and to extend his sway by the annexation of this most fortified town.'[20]

Venkaṭa I came to Vellore on 9th January 1604 with another big army. Though Lingama Nāyaka was said to have prostrated himself before the emperor, he was not released and the siege of Vellore was continued till it was captured. Then Veṅkaṭa I was said to have taken his lodging in the marble palace at Vellore adorned with gold and precious stones. We do not know what happened to the sons of Liṅgama but we know from the Jesuit letters that he was carried off to Chandragiri as prisoner.[21] Two years later in 1606 Veṅkaṭa I established his court at Vellore though he used to reside at Chandragiri sometimes. From that time Vellore became Rāyavēlūr – the seat of the Rāyas of Vijayanagar.

Revolt of the Nāyak of Śeñji :

The invasion and conquest of Vellore from Liṅgama Nāyaka was only a prelude to the invasion of Śeñji by Veṅkaṭa I. We know from Father Coutinho that in A. D. 1600 the nobles and courtiers were earnestly urging him to capture the fort of Śeñji.[22] Who were these nobles and courtiers of the emperor who urged him to conquer Śeñji and why did they advise him so? Perhaps they were Yāchama and Cheṇṇa, the heroes of Uttiramērūr and Vellore. Because we see Yāchama Nāyak himself leading the imperial forces against Śeñji. The cause of the invasion was the unwillingness of Kṛishṇappa of Śeñji to pay tribute. The Nāyak ought to have learnt a good lesson from the example of the Liṅgama of Vellore. But he refused to learn from the experience of others and seemed to have relied on the impregnability of his fort and the strength of his army. Though Anquetil du Perron says that the emperor had plenty of reasons for waging war against the Nāyak of Śeñji in 1600, he does not mention any of them.[23] Along with the Nāyak of Vellore, Kṛishṇappa also seemed to have refused to pay tribute, Veṅkaṭa I was ready with the forces to punish both the rulers of Vellore and Śenji. But, Kṛishṇapppa began to stage a farce. It is said that he suddenly lost his senses as a result of a dose of poison administered to him. Fr. Coutinho informs us of a rumour that four of the nobles of Kṛishṇappa had treacherously poisoned him and that made him insane. We do not know the truth of this news but we have to infer that it was only a pretended insanity to ward off the imperial invasion. Though the courtiers of Veṅkaṭa I advised him to seize the opportunity, the emperor said, "It would be a most cruel thing to go to war with a feudatory while he was insane". Kṛishṇappa succeeded in his farce and then 'recovered' and executed the nobles who administered poison to him. For the moment he escaped from the wrath of the emperor and pretended to be loyal again. Fr. Coutinho, again informs us that in 1604 Kṛishṇappa sent an embassy to Veṅkaṭa I.[24]

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[20] The Aravīḍu Dynasty. p. 318.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Letter from Fr. Coutinho to Fr. N. Pimenta. Chandragiri dated July 17th 1600.

But this pretended loyalty of Kṛishṇappa was only a short-lived one as was expected. Further refusal to pay tribute resulted in the invasion and defeat of Kṛiṣhṇappa. Vēlugōṭi Yāchama Nāyak was the leader of the imperial forces and he marched towards Śeñji. If Kṛiṣhṇappa had entrenched himself within the fort, the task of Yāchama would have been a difficult one. As it happened, the Nāyak of Śeñji by his over-confidence came out with his army to meet the imperial forces. He was worsted in the battle which ensued and the Nāyak himself was made a prisoner and Śeñji fell in January 1608.[25] The Emperor came from Vellore to Śeñji and the imprisoned Nāyak fell at his feet imploring not to kill him. Through the influence of a queen of Venkaṭa I, Kṛiṣhṇappa saved his life after giving a ransom of 600000 cruzados and the fortress *Ganaripatao*[26] very near Śeñji. Father Heras says that this defeat made Kṛiṣhṇappa so despondent that he offered to abdicate and to lead a retired life at Srirañgam.

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[23] Heras. Op. cit., p. 408

[24] Ibid. p. 409.

Fr. Coutinho also says that the Nāyaks of Madura and Tanjore consoled Kṛiṣnṇappa and used their influence with Venkaṭa I to reinstate him as the chief of Śeñji. This must be the occasion when Ragunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore helped Kṛiṣhṇappa to be released from prison according to the 'Raghunāthabyūdayam'.[27] Because, it is maintained in this thesis that Kṛiṣhṇappa Nāyaka did not revolt against Venkaṭa in 1586 and that he rebelled only once in 1608 and it resulted in his defeat and imprisonment. By the good offices of Raghunātha Nāyaka he was released from prison and was reinstated as the Nāyak of Śeñji. As a reward for this service Kṛiṣhṇappa is said to have made Raghunātha Nāyaka his son-in-law.[28] But Mr. Viruddhagiresan points out that there is no truth in the statement that Raghunātha married a princess from Śeñji.[29]

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[25] Ibid.

[26] The name is so much mutilated in the letter of Coutinho and it is not easy to identify it.

[27] Sources. p. 286.

Attitude of the Nāyaks of Tanjore towards Vijayanagar:

In this section we must consider the relations between the Vijayanagar emperor and the Nāyaks of Tanjore after the battle of Tālikōṭa. In the preceding chapter we have seen that Śevvappa Nāyaka and his son Achyutappa must have helped Rāmarāya at the battle of Tālikōṭa. From inscriptions which were issued after 1565 we can understand the 'after Tālikōṭa' relations between them. Two records from Tiruvaṇṇāmalai dated A. D. 1567 Achyutappa Nāyaka recognised the sovereignty of Śadāśivarāya.[1] In another inscription from the above place dated 4—3—1569 Śevvappa Nāyaka the former's father recognised Śadāśiva as the emperor.[2] Then, how are we to accept the view of Dr. Venkataramanayya that Achyutappa Nāyaka who was enjoytng the amaram of a few simas in Tanjore district usurped the authority over the Chōḷa country ?[3]

During the short reign of Tirumala both Śevvappa and Achyutappa recognise the Vijayanagar authority. No. 421 of 1929 dated 1570 from Tiruvaṇṇāmalai mentions that during the period of Tirumala, Śevvappa gave several villages to the temple.[4] Records dated 1571, 1572 and 1573 mention his loyalty and regard to the Vijayanagara emperors.[5] In 1574

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[28] Ibid.

[29] The Nayaks of Tanjore. p. 48. F. N. 40.

[1] No. 567 of 1902.

[2] 427 of 1929.

[3] Further Sources. Vol. I. p. 295.

[4] The Nayaks of Tanjore. p. 183.

[5] 239 of 1927, 425 of 1929 and 380 of 1919.

Śevvappa affiirms his loyalty to Sriraṅga I in an inscription at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai.[6] But, in their records from 1575 to 1585 (till the accession of Veṅkaṭa I) the Nayaks of Tanjore have not mentioned the names of their emperors. Does it mean that they did not ackhowledge them as their overlords? Not necessarily. Even though it was their practice to mention their imperial overlords in their records, sometimes it was not strictly adhered to and it does not mean that they have refused to obey the emperors as far as the Nāyaks of Tanjore were concerned.[7] What is not clear from the lithic records is proved beyond doubt from a copper-plate grant issued by Sriraṅga I in A. D. 1577. It records the gift of the village of Arivilimaṅgalam to the Mādhva Guru VIjayandra Tīrtha by Sriraṅga I at the request of Śevvappa Nāyaka of Tanjore. The grant was made in the presence of God Ramachandra at Peṉukoṇḍa. Though the village had already been granted to the Guru by Achyutappa, the sanction and approval from the emperor was obtained in 1577. The village granted belonged to the Kulōttuṅgochōḻa vaḷanāḍu in Chōḻamaṇdalam on the northern side of the river Kāvēri.[8] Therefore, both Śevvappa and Achutappa were loyal towards Tirumala and Sriraṅga I. If the date of the Pudukkoṭṭai plates that is 1553 is to be regarded reliable, then Achyuta's loyalty is to be admitted since he is said to have helped Veṅkatarāja(Venkata) when he was the viceroy of the Tamiḻ country under his elder brother Sriraṅga I, against Vīrappa Nāyaka of Madura.[9] Since there is a doubt about its date, our conclusion about Achyutappa's part in the battle of Vallamprakāra must be only a tentative one.

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6. 423 of 1929.
7. The Nayaks of Tanjore. p. 40. F. N. 17.
8. E. I. Vol. 12. No. 38. pp. 341–342.
9. T. A. S. Vol. I. p. 84.

The attitude of Achyutappa towards Veṅkaṭa I could be formulated from a study of the inscriptions of the period. An inscription from Paṉippākkam (N. A. Dt.) dated 2-3-1589 mentions a Śarvamāṉya gift of land in the reign of Veṅkata I by one Seshagiri Ayyan, the agent of Achyutappa.[10] Next year in 1590 Achutappa is mentioned as a subordinate of Veṅkatadēvarāya in an inscription from Tiruvaṇṇāmalai.[11] No. 710 of 1904 from Neḍuṅguṉṟam dated 1596 refers to a gift made by Achyutappa for the merit of his minister Gōvinda Dīkshita during the reign of Veṅkaṭa I. When Achyutappa was ruling over Tanjore he recognised his son Raghunātha, his heir apparent and associated him in the task of administration early in his reign.[12]

While Raghunātha was the crown prince, Veṅkaṭa I was threatened with Muslim invasions from Gōlkoṇḍa. In order to defend the empire against the Muslims, Veṅkaṭa I is said to have requested Achyutappa to send the prince Raghunātha with an army to help him. By the order of his father, Raghunātha is said to have started on an expedition to the north and reached Peṉukoṇḍa where Veṅkaṭa I received him with due honour and made him stay at Peṉukoṇḍa for some time.[13] Now, when was Peṉukoṇḍa, the capital of Veṅkaṭa I invaded by the Golkoṇḍa Śulṭāṉ and what part did Raghunātha play in that campaign? Soon after his accession, Veṅkaṭa I is said to have invaded the Gōlkoṇḍa dominions to win back the territories which his father and brother had lost.[14] This attempt of Veṅkaṭa to regain the lost territories

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10. 389 of 1929.
11. 426. of 1929.
12. The Nayaks of Tanjore. p. 63.
13. Raghunathabyudayam. Sources. p. 285.
14. Briggs. Ferishta. Vol. 3. p. 454.

naturally led to a Gōlkoṇḍa invasion of Peṉukoṇḍa. The contemporary Śulṭāṉ of Gōlkoṇḍa was Kūli Kutb Shah, the son of Ibrahim Kutb Shah. According to the Aminabad inscription of A. D. 1592 the fort of Udayagiri had been conquered by the Kutb Shah, in A. D. 1580 during the reign of Sriraṅga.[15] But in A.D.1589 it was reconquered by Veṅkaṭa since we know from the anonymous chronicler that Udayagiri was being ruled over by one Kowlānanda on behalf of Veṅkaṭa I.[16] Further, the support given by Veṅkaṭa I to one Ali Khāṉ Lur, a Kutb Shāhi officer against the Sulṭāṉ of Gōlkoṇḍa, by Mekur Timma, the son-in-law of Veṅkaṭa I induced the Kutb Shah to send an army against Peṉukoṇḍa. The Muslim army led by Amir-ul-Mulk and then by the Kutb Shah himself, marched towards Peṉukoṇḍa and besieged the fort. This siege of Peṉukoṇḍa happened about A. D. 1590.

The Muslim invasion was too sudden to make proper precautions for defending the fort and the feudatories and the nobles whom Veṇkaṭa had summoned did not arrive at the proper time. In order to gain time Veṅkaṭa seems to have made a pretence of submission. Gōpalrāju Timma, the minister, and Pāpiah Chetti, the general were sent to the Muslim camp to sue for peace. They persuaded the Sulṭān of Gōlkoṇḍa to grant them a truce. Before the period of truce came to an end, the feudatories whom Veṅkaṭa had summoned arrived at Peṉukoṇḍa. One of those who rushed to the help of Veṅkaṭa was Raghunātha Nāyak of Tanjore. Along with him were other great leaders such as Jagadeva Rāya, the viceroy of Cheṉṉapaṭṭiṇam, Maṭli Ānanta, Velugōṭi Kastūri Ra*n*ga, Velugōṭi Cheṉṉa and his son Veṅkaṭapati.[17] Raghunātha played such an important part in the siege of

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[15] Sources. p. 240.

[16] Briggs. Ibid.

[17] Further Sources. pp. 313–314.

Peṉukoṇḍa in order to save the empire and the imperial capital that the Raghunāthabhyūdayam praises him unreservedly. The Muslims who besieged Peṉukoṇḍa were said to have fled from the battlefield when they heard of the arrival of such great leaders as Raghunātha and others and Raghunātha scattered the forces of the enemy and won a complete victory over them.[18] Though the victory gained by Raghunātha was due to the help of his supporters, the historicity of the part which he played at Peṉukoṇḍa cannot be denied. Thus, at a critical juncture, when the empire needed his help to the utmost, Raghunātha rendered signal service to Veṅkaṭa I.

It was at this juncture, according to Raghunāthabhyūdayam, Raghunātha on hearing that the Nāyak of Śeñji was imprisoned at Peṉukoṇḍa, got him released from prison by his influence with Veṅkaṭa. But I have pointed out earlier that Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka of Śeñji did not revolt earlier than A. D. 1600. Therefore, it was later when the Nāyak of Śeñji was defeated in A. D. 1608 that he was made a prisoner and it was then that he must have been released from prison by Raghunātha.

Another service which Raghunātha rendered to Veṅkaṭa I was the help which he gave to the empire in defeating the leader of the Muraśas. Who were these *Muraśas* and who was their leader? Under what circumstances did the leader of the Muraśas rise in revolt and where was his territory located?. The Raghunāthabhyūdayam speaks of the Muraśas as the people in the North Arcot district and the adjacent places. Dr· Venkataramanayyā had identified the territory of the Muraśas as covering parts of North Arcot, Kōlār and Mulbāgal taluks of the Kōlār district which adjoin the northern part of North Arcot district.[19] This territory was then under a Kanarese feudatory by name Tammaṇa Gauḍa. "He appears to be indentical with Mummadi Cikkarāya Tammaya Gauḍa of Śugatūr who figures as a subordinate of Veṅkaṭa I in the inscriptions of the Kōlār district."[19(a)]

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[18] Sources. p. 285·

The Muhammadan siege of Peṇukoṇḍa and the consequent troubles of Veṅkaṭa I seem to have encouraged this Tammaṇa Gauḍa to evade tribute and to disobey the order of Veṅkāṭa to help him at Pennukoṇḍa. Soon after the victory at Peṇukoṇḍa an expedition was sent against him under Maṭla Ananta aad Raghunātha of Tanjore. They defeated Tammaṇa Gauḍa at the battle of Krotta-Kanama and forced him to pay the tribute due to the Rāya. Therefore, there is substantial truth in the version of Rāmabhadrāmbāl when she says, "Having defeated the enemies (of the Rāya), Raghunātha brought all the territories and the fortresses of Karnāṭa once more under Veṅkaṭa I."[20] These services of Raghunātha Nāyaka were magnanimously acknowledged by Veṅkaṭa I in his court and he is said to have loaded Raghunātha with various presents. These events might have taken place before A. D. 1591 according to Mr. Viruddhagiresan.[21] On knowing the meritorious services rendered by his son to the emperor, Achyutappa is said to have warmly received Raghunātha when he returned from Peṇukoṇḍa.[22]

Did these relations between the emperor and the Nāyaks of Tanjore continue to be loyal till the death of Veṅkaṭa I in A. D. 1614? The answer seems to be a positive one since the epigraphical records of Raghunātha affirm his favourable attitude towards the emperor. An inscription from Nārattampūndi (N. A. Dt.) dated A. D. 1604 mentions that in the reign of Ve*n*kaṭa I, a śarvamāṇya gift of the village of Kailāśapuram was made for the merit of Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore.[23] Another record from the same place dated 1614 mentions Raghunātha making gifts during the reign of Ve*n*kaṭa I.[24]

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[19] Further Sources. p. 319. F. N.

[19] (a). Ibid p. 319.

[20] Heras. Ibid. p. 310.

[21] The Nayaks of Tanjore. p. 48.

[22] Sources. p. 286.

But these loyal and friendly relations between Achyutappa and Raghunātha and the emperor have been questioned by Father Heras on the basis of some of the observations made by Anquetil du Perron and Fr. Coutinho. The former seemed to have written that before A. D. 1595 both the Nāyaks of Madura and Tanjore had rebelled against Ve*n*kata I. From an inscription dated 1596–97, Father Heras rejects the view of Perron but observes "the rebellion took place some years later and was misplaced by Anquetil confusing it with an earlier rising of the Nāyak of Madura." But he seems to rely on the letter of Fr. Coutinho which mentions the rumour of a war between Ve*n*kaṭa and Achyutappa.[26] The rumour was that king Veṅkaṭa would wage a war against the 'Naichus of Tangaor called Astapenaicus' and Ve*n*kaṭa had a large army with many good generals in order to reconquer Kāñchivaram which city and country around had surrendered to Astapanaichus of *Tangior* (Tanjore).[27] The same letter dated 17th July 1600 also mentions that the war never took place as a result of the death of Achyutappa Nāyak.

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23. 379 of 1825.
24. 381 of 1925.
25. Heras. Op. cit. p. 398.
26. Purchas. X. p. 222.
27. Heras. Ibid. p. 399.

Both Anquetil du Perron and Fr. Coutinho seem to have confused tnemselves in their letters. They mistook the Nāyak of Śeñji for the Nāyak of Tanjore. The Nāyak of Śeñji, Kṛishṇappa II refused to pay tribute to Veṅkaṭa and he might have occupied Kāñchipuram. Astapanaicus who occupied Kāñchi may refer to Kṛishṇappa Nāyak since the name could be pronounced Histnappa also. And we know for certain that even though Veṅkaṭa thought of invading Śeñji, he did not undertake the expedition in 1600 because of the insanity of Kṛishṇappa. It was in 1608 that Śeñji was reduced. Therefore, Coutinho refers only to Kṛishṇappa Nāyak of Śeñji and not to Achyutappa of Tanjore. Further, Mr. Viruddhagiresan has come to the conclusion that Achyutappa did not die in 1600 as mentioned in the Jesuit letters. Achyutappa is said to have lived upto 1614 even though he had abdicated his Nāyakship in about 1600.[28] Father Heras, again, suspects the loyalty of Raghunātha Nāyaka about A. D. 1610. "When Veṅkaṭa I besieged the city of San Thome and waged a war against the Portuguese, Raghunātha aided the Portuguese against the Rāya.[29] This view is due to the fact that Father Heras places too much reliance on the information supplied by Jesuit letters and we have already noted some of the defects in them and so we cannot agree with the statement that towards the close of Veṅkaṭa's reign, Raghunātha was disloyal towards him. The staunch support which Raghunātha gave to Rāmadēvarāya and Yāchama Nāyak and for the cause for which Veṅkaṭa I stood, that is, the preservation of the Vijayanagar empire in the south is proved in unmistakable terms by the glorious part played by Raghunātha in the great civil war of Vijayanagar.'

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[28] The Nayaks of Tanjore. p. 61.

[29] Heras. p· 403.

The Nāyaks of Madura and the empire:

The attitude of the Nāyaks of Madura towards the rulers of Vijayanagar after the battle of Tālikōṭa is a subject of wide and varied discussion. We have seen that Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka I (1564–72) sent his general Ariyanātha along with one Tirumala Nāyaka and Baśavarāja to help Rāmarāya at the battle of Tālikōṭa. Vijayanagar lost the battle in spite of their help. What were the results of the battle of Tālikōta on the relations between the Nāyaks of Madura and the emperors of Vijayanagar? Did Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka I and his successors continue to be loyal from A. D. 1565? Or did they rise in revolt against the imperial authority whenever it was convenient for them to do so? If they had attempted to overthrow the imperial authority was it due to their unwillingness to pay tribute or was it due to any other cause? There are the problems which must now be solved.

Dr. S. K. Iyengar put forward the theory that after the battle of Tālikōṭa and the consequent change of capital to Peṉukoṇda, the Nāyaks of Madura had the attitude of breaking away from the imperial control and if possible to disregard it. Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka and his successors till the accession of Tirumala Nāyaka, owed only a doubtful allegiance to the emperors and they seem to have maintained only a formāl loyalty.[1] Dr. N. Venkataramanayya believes that Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka who held the Tiruvadidesa in amaram began to establish himself at Madurā and laid claim to the whole country south of the river Kāvēri.[2] But he does not state clearly whether this 'establishment' of his power was a declaration of independence or a mere formal allegiance without paying tribute. Now we have to inquire whether the above contentions are based upon facts which could be proved.

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[1] The Nayaks of Madura. pp. 99–100. F. N.

[2] F. S. Vol. I. p. 295.

An important source of information which disproves the above mentioned views is the Kṛiṣṇāpuram plates of Śadāśivarāya dated A. D. 1567. In thāt year, Śadāśivarāya, the nominal monarch, was said to have toured the Tamiḻ country and received the homage of his feudatory chiefs including Kṛishṇappa Nāyakā of Madura.[3] Here, Tirumalarāyā, the regent, on the request of Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka was said to have requested Śādāśivarāya to make a gift of the village of Kṛishṇāpuram and nine other neighbouring villages to God Veṅkaṭēśa.[4] Prof. Sathianathaier mentions that the Kṛishṇāpuram plates prove the loyalty of the Nāyak of Madura to the empire without a shadow of doubt.[5] The various terms of praise showered on Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka and the one significient phrase which describes Kṛishṇappa as, "one who knew the truth about duty," prove his loyalty in unimpeachable terms. In 1568 also, Kṛishṇappa acknowledged the sovereignty of Śadāśiva according to an inscription from Vaḻuvūr (Tanjore Dt.)[6]

Two years later (1570) Ariyanātha Mudaliyār, Virarāghava Mudaliyār and Rāmappa Nāyaka are mentioned as the agents of Viśvanātha, Kṛishṇappa and Vīrappa Nāyakas who were themselves the agents of Rāmarāja Tirumalarāja.[7] It will not be reasonable to maintain that the Nāyaks of Madura either owed only nominal allegiance or they tried to assert their independence against these epigraphical evidences. Nor will we be justified in accepting the view of Dr. N. Venkataramanayya that Tirumalarāya won over to his side the Nāyaks of Madura, Tanjore and Śeñji by tacitly approving of their usurpations.[8] The Nāyāks did not usurp power from any one but they continued to rule their nāyakships subject the control of the imperial power.

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[3] F. Heras· The Aravidu Dynasty. p. 244.

[4] E. I. Vol. 9. p. 341.

[5] The Nayaks of Madura. p. 72.

[6] No. 64 of 1908.

[7] 478 of 1916.

Vīrāppa Nāyaka (1572–1595) acknowledged Sriraṅga I as the emperor in A. D. 1577. An important inscription from Kṛishṇapuram dated April 1577 mentions that when Sriraṅga I was ruling with Peṇukoṇḍa as his capital, Vīrappa Nāyaka gave a village to God Tiruveṅkaṭanātha of Kṛishṇapuram in Tiruvaḍidēśam which was his amaranāyakam granted to him by Sriraṅgarāya.[9] Again, in 1578 Vīrappa is mentioned as the agent of Sriraṅgadēva Mahārāya in an inscription from Śeramādēvi.[10] A record of Sriraṅga I dated 1579 mentions Vīrappa as his feudatory.[10(a)] But, the inscriptions of Vīrappa Nāyaka from 1580 to 1585 do not mention the name of Sriraṅgarāya as his overlord.[11] From this absence of the name of the emperor in the inscriptions, Father Heras had concluded that Vīrappa Nāyaka rose in revolt against Sriraṅgarāya and this revolt was regarded by Dr. S. K. Iyengar as the first of a series of rebellions of Vīrappa.

The source of information that led both of them to postulate such a rebellion, is the Pudukkōṭṭai plates of Srivallabha which mention a war between one Veṅkaṭarāja and Achyutarāja on one side and Virarāja (Vīrappa Nāyaka) supported by one Tirumala Nāyaka on the other at Vallamprakara which is identified with Vallam near Tanjore.[11 (a)] The cause of this war between Sriraṅga I and Vīrappa Nāyaka

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8. F. S. Vol. I. p· 298.
9. No. 16 of 1912.
10. 663 of 1916·
10.(a) 187 of 1895.
11. Nos. 98 of 1903, 340 of 1918, 97 of 1903 and Sewell. Vol. I. p. 293.
11(a). T. A. S. Vol. I. pp. 61–88.

was regarded as the unwillingness of the Nāyaka to pay tribute. Ve*ṅ*kaṭa, as the viceroy of the Tamiḻ country with Chandragiri as his headquarters was said to have marched against Vīrappa Nāyaka with the help of Aehyutappa of Tanjore and one Baśavarāja. In the battle which took place at Vallamprakāra, "The armies of Vīrarāja (Vīrappa Nāyaka) were destroyed but that of Achyutarāya fled away." Father Heras accepts the first statement, "that the armies of Vīrarāja were destroyed," but doubts the second one. 'that of Achyutarāja fled away.' He maintains that Veṅkaṭa was victorious over Vīrappa Nāyaka and thus established the imperial control over Madura during the reign of his elder brother.[12] Mr. Vriddhagiresan interprets the lines, "the forces of Achyutarāya fled away and Tirumala Nāyaka collected all the horses" in a different way and has come to the conclusion that there is nothing irrelevant or inconsistent in the inscription.[13] Prof. Sathianathaier thinks that the date of the Pudukkoṭṭai plates is wrong and it should be revised and the battle must be dated about A. D. 1609-10.[14]

The Pudnkkōṭṭai plates have created a great confusion in the history of the relations between Vīrappa Nāyaka of Madura and the emperors Sriraṅgā I and Veṅkaṭa I. It is evident that there is a mistake either in the date or in the opposing parties mentioned in the record. There is no reference to this battle of Vallamprakāra in other sources either foreign or indigenous. No inscriptions or literary evidences are available to confirm the view that Vīrappa Nāyaka rebelled against Sriraṅga I between A. D. 1579 and 1583. The only proof available is that the inscriptions of Vīrappa Nāyaka dated A. D. 1581 and 1582 do not refer to Sriraṅga as the emperor.[14(a)] But, this cannot be taken as a definite evidence for the insubordination of Vīrappa since some of his inscriptions dated 1572 and 1574 make no mention of the emperor.[14(b)] Therefore, we cannot state definitely that Vīrappa Nāyaka of Madura inaugurated the rebellious attitude towards the Vijayanagar empire in about A. D. 1583 on the basis of the Pudukkōṭṭai plates. If he had been defeated by Veṇkaṭa and Achyutappa Nāyaka of Tanjore at the battle of Vallamprakāra and brought back to allegiance, it would be only a sulking and unwilling loyalty that Vīrappa Nāyaka would have adopted towards Veṅkaṭa I.

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[12] The Aravidu Dynasty. p. 386.

[13] The Nayaks of Tanjore· p. 40.

[14] Tamilakham in the 17th century. pp. 26-27.

But, the Daḷavāy Agrahāram plates of Veṅkaṭa I dated October 1586, clearly state that Vīrappa was a loyal subordinate of the emperor. It was at the request of Vīrappa Nāyaka that Veṅkaṭa I granted the village of Gaṅgavarappaṭṭi to several brahmins. Veṅkaṭa is mentioned in this grant as the excellant conqueror of Chauriśidurga, one who terrified the hearts of the hostile kings in the eight quarters, a destroyer of his enemies, etc."[15] Therefore, Vīrappa Nāyaka would not have attempted to overthrow Vijayanagar authority over Madura and this is clear from his acknowledgment of Veṅkaṭa I as the emperor from the time of his accession in A. D. 1585.

Two inscriptions from Pirāṇmalai dated June 1588 and November 1591 respectively prove that the imperial authority of Veṅkaṭa I prevailed in that region.[16] A record from Nāṅgunēri (Tin. Dt.) dated 23—7—1589 mentions the sovereignty of Veṅkaṭa I over the Nāyak of Madura.[17] Two

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14(a). 340 of 1918 and 97 of 1903.

14(b). 147 of 1920, 77 of 1905.

[15] E. I· Vol. 12. The Daḷavāy Agrahāram Plates.

[16] 224 and 199 of 1924.

[17] 258 of 1928.

records from Erode and Aḻagarkōil dated A. D. 1588 and 1589 respectively refer to the fact that Vīrappa Nāyaka recognised Veṅkaṭa I as the emperor.[18] In 1590, while at Kumbhakōṇam, Veṅkaṭa granted some villages in the Tinnevelly district to a temple.[19] Two other records from Sriraṅgam dated A. D. 1592 mention Veṅkaṭa as the emperor.[20] A Śermādēvi record dated A. D. 1594 mentions Vīrappa Nāyaka as a feudatory of the Vijayanagar emperor.[21] A later Pāṇḍya inscription from Pāraippaṭṭi (Tinnevelly Dt.) dated 1595 mentions Veṅkaṭapatidēvarāya as the emperor.[22] The last date of Vīrappa Nāyaka seems to be A. D. 1595 according to an inscription from Uraiyūr (Trichy).[23] On the basis of these epigraphical evidences, Prof. Sathianathaier has come to the conclusion that the imperial authority of Veṅkaṭa I over Vīrappa Nāyaka of Madura appears to have been predominant and the loyalty of Vīrappa to both Sriraṅga I and Veṅkaṭa I is proved beyond doubt. He also observes that 'a gradual tightening up of the imperial control is however perceptible towards the close of Veṅkaṭa's reign.[24]

But, Dr. S. K. Iyengar and Father Heras have questioned this contention. The former maintains that there was a rebellion or an attempt at one, in Madura soon after the accession of Veṅkaṭa I as emperor in A. D. 1585. So, the emperor had to send his nephew Tirumala (the eldest son of Rāma, the brother of Veṅkata) to put down the rebellion. But Tirumala was said to have accepted a bribe from Vīrappa

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[18] 13 of 1891 and 91 of 1929.

[19] Sewell. II. p. 3.

[20] 35 and 190 of 1939.

[21] 187 of 1895.

[22] 615 of 1915.

[23] 136 of 1937:

[24] The Nayaks of Madura. p. 81.

Nāyaka of Madura and retired to his father's viceroyalty at Srirańgapaṭṭaṇam, Later, Veńkaṭa had to wage war against Vīrappa in order to bring him back to allegiance.[25] This inference is based on the version of Chikkadēvarāyavamśāvaḷi which mentions that Veńkaṭapatidēvarāya declared war against Vīrappa Nāyaka of Madura and laid siege to the fort of Madura with a large army. The defection of Tirumala is also mentioned therein.[26] Father Heras accepts the first part of this statement but refuses to believe that Tirumala, the nephew of Veńkaṭa took part in the expedition against Vīrappa Nāyaka on the ground that prince Tirumala was then too young to lead an expedition. So, he considers this information as a concoction by the author of Chikkadēvarāyavamśāvaḷi for justifying the conquest of Srirańgapaṭṭiṇam viceroyalty by Rāja Uḍaiyār of Mysore. He implicitly believes the statement of Anquetil de Perron that before A. D. 1595 the Nāyak of Madura refused to pay homage to the emperor of Vijayanagar on the ground that the latter had murdered, Śadāṣiva, the legitimate sovereign.[27] The Jesuit writers had given too much importance to this supposed assassination of Sadasiva by Veńkaṭa forgetting the fact that his father Tirumala was responsible for it. It is not reasonable to maintain that Vīrappa Nāyaka refused to do homage to Veńkaṭa I in 1595 for a supposed crime committed in 1570 when he was too young to reason for himself. The assassination of Śadāśiva could not be brought in as a disturbing factor in the relations between the emperor and the Nāyaks of Madura.

The probable cause of this rupture between Veńkaṭa I and Vīrappa Nāyaka seems to be the delay in sending the tribute to Veńkaṭa. It has always been the tendency of the feudatories to evade tribute and, if possible, refuse to pay it. This was the cause of struggle between Muttuvīrappa Nāyaka of Madura and Veńkaṭa I and between Tirumala Nāyaka and Sriraṅga III. When the Nāyaks delayed payment of tribute, the emperor had to send an army to collect it under responsible persons. Therefore, it was not exactly a war that Veńkaṭa I waged against Vīrappa Nāyaka but it was an imperial mandate that was entrusted to an army to exact tribute. The Jesuit writers have mistaken these expeditions to a declaration of war and Father Heras implictly believed them and mentioned that Veńkaṭa I defeated Vīrappa Nāyaka twice and brought him back to loyalty before 1595.[28] The inscriptions from 1586 to 1595 refer to the unquestioned authority of Veńaṭa I in the region of Madura and so Vīrappa Nāyaka could not be easily accused of disloyalty and dubbed as a rebellious subordinate.

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[25] Ibid. p. 81. F. N.

[26] Sources. pp. 302–3.

[27] Heras. Op. cit., pp. 342–43 and F. N.

Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka II and Muttukṛishṇappa Nāyaka I (1595–1609):

The two successors of Vīrappa Nāyaka continued their obedient and loyal attitude towards Veńkaṭa I from the very beginning of their rule. From epigraphical evidences we can say that they were more loyal to the emperor than their predecessor. An inscription from Madura dated A. D. 1597 was said to have been issued by Veńkaṭa I at the request of Kṛishnappa II. Two villages called Marudańguḍi and Kārupuram were granted to Vaishṇava brahmins by Veńkaṭa I at the humble request of Kṛishṇappa II.[23(a)] A Srirańgam record dated 25–4–1597 mentions Veńkaṭa's authority over the Trichinoply region.[29] But, the most important records are the

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[28] Ibid. p. 343.

[28(a)] Sewell. List of C. P. No. 136.

[29] 99 of 1939.

Veḷḷāṅguḍi and Padmanēri grants which show beyond a shadow of doubt the loyalty and obedience of Kṛishṇappa II to Veṅkaṭa I. Both these grants were issued on the same date A. D. 1598. The first record mentions the gift of the village of Veḷḷāṅgudi surnamed Vīrabhupaśamudram in memory of Vīrappa Nāyaka. It was distributed among learned brahmins by the humble request of Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka to Veṅkaṭa I.[30]

The Padmanēri grant mentions the gift of the village of Padmanēri in Nāṅgunēri taluk in Tinnevelly district in Tiruvaḍidēśa. In this record Kṛishṇappa acknowledged Veṅkaṭa I as the paramount sovereign. The grant was made by Veṅkaṭa I in the presence of Lord Veṅkaṭeśa at Tirupati at the request of Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka of Madura.[31] These two records are unmistakable evidences of Kṛishṇappa's loyalty to Veṅkaṭa I. Another inscription of Veṅkaṭa I dated 1st July 1599 from Trichinopoly mentions a gift of two velis of land by Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka for the merit of his mother Tirumalaiyamma. In this record also Kṛishṅappa II had acknowledged the sovereignty of the emperor.[32]

As against these evidences, Fr. Heras points out that Kṛishṇappa II withheld the payment of tribute in A. D. 1599. He relied on the observation of Father Pimenta who travelled through the Nāyakships of Madura, Tanjore and Śeñji in 1599. Writing about Veṅkaṭa I he says, "He (Veṅkaṭa I) is now embroiled in a war with Naichus of Madure."[33] Fr. Du Jarric is also regarded as supporting the statement of Fr. Pimenta.[34] Did Kṛishṇappa II rise in revolt against

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30. E. I. Vol. 16. p. 287.
31. Ibid.
32. 137 of 1937.
33. Purchas. X. p. 210.
34. The Aravidu Dynasty. p. 349.

Veṅkaṭa I towards the close of his rule? This is a very difficult question to be answered. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya maintains that at the time of the siege of Uttiramerur by Yāchama Nāyak in 160I, there was a general outbreak of rebellion by all the Nāyaks in the Tamiḻ country. Veṅkaṭa I was said to have despatched a strong army under Maṭla Ananta, his son Tiruveṅkaṭanātha and Dāmerla Cheṉṉa and others. After defeating Liṅgama Nāyaka of Vellore at the battle of Miṉṉāl, Maṭla Ananta was said to have encountered the forces of the Nāyak of Tanjore at Kūḍalāttūr and defeated them. Then Maṭla Ananta crossed the Kāvēri and invaded the territories of the Nāyak of Madura who was defeated and forced to pay a heavy tribute.[35]

The Siddhout inscription of Maṭla Ananta dated A. D. 1605 and the Bahuḷāśvacharitam seem to support this contention. The Siddhout inscription mentions that Maṭla Ananta "protected the flying armies of the Madura chief from destruction."[36] If the Nāyak of Madura had really risen in revolt why did Maṭla Ananta protect his armies from destruction ? It seems that the expedition under Maṭla Ananta Against the Tanjore and Madura Nāyaks were sent only to collect tribute and not to put down a rebellion. The Bahuḷāśvacharitam mentions that Dāmerla Cheṉṉa defeated his enemies at Kūḍalāttūr.[37] Who were the enemies ? Were they the forces of Nāyak of Śeñji or those of the Nāyak of Tanjore ? It is not likely that the contemporary Nāyak of Tanjore, Achyutappa withheld his tribute. But we know that the Nāyaks of Vellore and Śeñji refused to pay tribute adout A. D. 1601.[38] Kūḍalāttur is a village in South

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35. Further Sourcess. Vol. I. p. 323.
36. Sources. pp. 248–9.
37. Ibid. p. 305,
38. Refer. Supra.

Arcot District which was then within the Nāyakship of Śeñji. Therefore, the enemies who were defeated by Dāmarla Cheṇṇa at Kūḍalāttūr were the forces of the Nāyak of Śeñji and not those of the Nāyaks of Tanjore or Madura.

There seems to be no truth in the observation of Father Pimenta that Veṅkaṭa I was embroiled in a war with the Nāyak of Madura. The previous attitude of Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka of Madura towards Veṅkaṭa I precludes us from maintaining that he could have risen in revolt against the emperor. So, the expedition under Maṭla Ananta must have been sent with a view to get the regular tribute.

Relations between Veṅkaṭa I and Muttukṛishṇappa Nāyaka I:

The successor of Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka II of Madura was Muttukṛishṇappa and he also seems to have been very loyal towards Veṅkaṭa I. Father Heras describes their relation to be one of mutual friendship and understanding.[39] An inscription from Madura dated 1602 refers to the authority of Veṅkaṭa I in the Nāyakship of Madura.[40] A record from Koḷḷēgāḷ (Coimbatore Dt.) proves Veṅkaṭa's authority over Muttukṛishṇappa.[41] Numismatic evidence also proves that Muttukṛishṇappa was loyal to Veṅkaṭa. A coin which bears on the obverse a standing figure of Vishṇu with a fish on his right and on the reverse the legend of 'Veṅkaṭappa' is available from Madura.[42]

A Jesuit letter dated 1606 mentions that in 1604, Veṅkaṭa received a special envoy of Madura. Father Coutinho's letter from Chandragiri dated 11th October 1608 mentions that the Nāyaks of Tanjore and Madura sent their tribute of 500 thousand cruzados and many other presents. King Veṅkaṭa received the tribute and presents with great magnificence and the Jesuits at his court were allowed to be present on the occasion.[43] But, it is not definitely known whether the tribute was sent by Muttukṛishṇappa I or his successor Muttuvirappa. Though, Prof. Sathianathaier and Father Heras believe that Muttukṛishṇappa died in 1609 and was succeeded by Muttuvīrappa in that year, it is now believed that the former died on 6th or 7th December 1607. From two letters of Robert de Nobili, Fr. Sauliere S. J. has concluded that Muttukṛishṇappa died in A. D. 1606 and Muttuvīrappa became the Nāyak in the same year.[44] Epigraphical evidences also support this contention. An inscription from Cape Comorin dated 1606 mentions the gift of lands by Muttuvīrappa I to the Bhagavati temple.[45] Another inscription from Tāyanur (S. A. Dt.) mentions one Vāṇādarāyar, an agent of Vīrappa Nāyaka in 1606.[46]

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[39] Heras. Op. cit., p. 358.

[40] 36 of 1908.

[41] 356 of 1901.

[42] I. A. Vol. 20. p. 308.

Muttuvīrappa Nāyaka I seems to have acknowledged Veṅkaṭa I as the emperor in the early years of his rule. A Sriraṅgam record dated 1608 mentions Veṅkaṭa's authority in Madura Nāyakship.[47] Next year in 1609 Muttuvīrappa had requested the emperor Veṅkaṭa I to grant the village of Nāganalluru as a gift to some brahmin scholars.[48]

But his inscriptions from A. D. 1610 and the Jesuit letters tell a different tale. A record from Āḻvārkurichi dated 1610 mentions Muttuvīrappa Nāyaka making a gift without mentioning Veṅkaṭapatirāya.[49] An inscription from Madura mentions that Muttuvīrappa Nāyaka exempted some servants of the temple at Madura from the levy of brokerage without any permission from Veṅkaṭa I.[50] Two other records from Ālvārkurichi and Madura tell the same story in A. D. 1612.[51] Fr. Vico writing from Madura in 1611 says that the Nāyak of Madura was not punctual in paying tribute to Vijayanagar. Often would he postpone the payment; sometimes he even refused it with insolence. Then the emperor used to send one of his generals with an army to enforce payment. Tirumala Nāyaka, the brother and successor of Muttuvīrappa was said to have foliowed in the footsteps of his predecessor in refusing to pay tribute to the Vijayanagar sovereign.[52]

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[43] Heras. Ibid.

[44] J. I. H. Vol. 32. p. 83.

[45] V. Nagam. Aiya. T. S. M. I. p. 302.

[46] 366 of 1909.

[47] 49 of 1939.

[48] C. P. No. 9 of 1906.

Father Heras has maintained that Muttuvīrappa rose in revolt refusing to pay tribute to Veṅkaṭa in about A. D. 1610. The latter sent an army under Maṭla Ananta who was said to have defeated Muttuvīrappa and compelled him to pay all the arrears of tribute.[53] But there are no reliable evidences to substantiate this contention. Robert de Nobili's letter of 1610 and the conversation between a Paṇḍāram of Madura and Fr. Learsio are too vague to be regarded as reliable.[54] Another letter dated 12th June 1610 from Nobili to Vico runs as follows: "Some days before my arrival at Madura, the celebrated Hermicatti Nāyaka had returned from a war. He had distinguished himself by his bravery, taken a fortress by assault and returned victorious. The great Nāyaka of Madura loaded him with honours and new favours.[55]

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[49] 122 of 1907.

[50] Burgess. pp. 109–10.

[51] 123 of 1907 and Sewell. I. p. 293.

[52] The Nayaks or Madura. p. 99 and The Aravidu Dynasty. p. 360.

[53] Ibid. 9. 361.

[54] Ibid.

Does this war refer to the struggle between Veṅkaṭa I and Muttuvīrappa of Madura? We cannot say anything definitely about it. But it was certain that Muttuvīrappa discontinued the practice of paying tribute to the Vijayanagar sovereign during the closing years of the reign of Veṅkaṭa I. The subsequent attitude of Muttuvīrappa towards the successor of Veṅkaṭa I is a clear reflection of his early behaviour. In other words, Muttuvīrappa Nāyaka of Madura inaugurated the policy of disloyalty and rebellion against Vijayanagar.

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[55] The Nayaks of Madura. p. 100.

CHAPTER — XIII

CIVIL WAR IN THE TAMIḺ COUNTRY

The great civil war between the rival supporters of Rāmadēvarāya, the nephew of Veṅkaṭa I and his putative son had been characterised by the Rāmarājyamu as the Mahābhārata war of the Vijayanagar empire and the several chiefs who took part in the civil war had been compared to the heroes of the Mahābhārata. Rāmadēva was compared to Yudhiṣtra, Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore to Lord Kṛishṇa and Jaggarāya to Duryōdhana.[1] But the comparisons are not appropriate and the Vijayanagar civil war is not a legendary one as the Mahābhārata war. It is proper to regard it as the 'Grand climacteric of Tōpur whereas Tālikōta was only the climacteric. The causes of this civil war which brought about the decline of the Vijayanagar empire have not been properly analysed so far. Who were responsible for it and what were the effects of the civil war on the course of South Indian history during the 17th century? What part did the Nāyaks of the Tamiḻ country play in that civil strife and how did it change the relations between the emperors of Vijayanagar and the Nayaks? These are the problems which must be solved in this chapter.

How far was Veṅkaṭa I responsible for the civil war?

Veṅkaṭa I is considered by several scholars as the greatest of the Āravīḍu rulers. Contemporary European travellers and the Jesuits speak of him as a great king, a lord of great authority. and a most affectionate ruler. Indigenous sources also shower praises on his ability as a ruler. The Kūniyūr plates of Veṅkaṭa II praise him as the wise and glorious king who illuminated the ten regions by his fame.[2] The Veḷḷāṅguḍi plates state that he ruled the earth with justice just as Rāma, the epic hero, did.[3] The Daḷavāy Agrahāram plates describe him as a good ruler both in peace and in war. "He was like a wishing tree to the poor; he was like the central gem of the necklace (which is) the city of Āravīdu; he was the best of kings of the race of Atri... .... a munificent giver like Kubēra........ a Rāmabhadra in battle.[4] The Maṅgalampād grant praises him as a very liberal monarch,[5]

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[1] Sources. p. 244

With all this greatness certain defects stand out prominently in Veṅkaṭa's character and those defects proved to be the unconscious causes of the great civil war after the death of this great monarch, The first of those defects was his extreme favouritism shown to one of his queens who was the daughter of Gobbūrī Ōbarāya. An inscription from Narasiṅgapuram (Chingleput District) mentions that Ōbarāya was a Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara and an important officer of Veṅkaṭa 1.[6] Another record from Kūvam (Ch. Dt.) mentions that he provided for a special worship in the Śiva temple there.[7] He had two daughters by name Koṇḍamma and Bāyamma and a son called Gobbūri Jaggarāya.

We know from the accounts of the Jesuits who visited the courts of Veṅkaṭa I, that he had married these two daughters of Gobbūri Ōbarāya along with four others.[8] Koṇḍamma was the elder and she was married by Veṅkaṭa before A. D. 1600 and Bāyamma seems to have been married later. Father Barradas regarded this Bāyamma as the daughter of Jaggarāya.[9] But Dr. Venkataramanayya mentions that she was a grand-daughter of Aḷiya Rāmarāya through her mother and a daughter of Gobbūri Ōbarāya.[10]

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[2] Ibid. p. 251.
[3] E. I. Vol. 16. p. 319.
[4] Ibid. 12. p. 186–7:
[5] Butterworth. I. p. 32.
[6] 243 of 1910.
[7] 332 of 1909.
[8] Heras. Aravidu Dynasty. p. 496.

As a result of these close relations between Venkata I and Gobbūri Ōbarāya, the latter exercised great influence at the court of Veṅkaṭa I both at Chandragiri and at Vellore. According to Fr. Du Jarric, Ōbarāya was the greatest noble in the whole kingdom and his authority was tremendous. Two other fathers who journeyed from San Thome to Chandragiri mention that they were given a free passport over any road and river merely for showing the letters patent of Ōbarāya. According to Du Jarric the refusal of any officer of the orders of Ōbarāya was equivalent to signing his own death warrant.[11] After his death his son Gobbūri Jaggarāya seems to have exercised the same influence in the court of Veṅkaṭa I.

None of the queens of Veṅkaṭa I, including Bāyamma had any issue to succeed him. But, Bāyamma was determined to deceive the king by declaring that she was pregnant and with the help of a brahmin maid at the court, produced before the king a putative son. Since the king had great love towards this queen, he did not question her duplicity. He even seemed to have encouraged her with a false hope that her pretended son would be his successor. Says Barradas, "The king knowing all this, yet for the love he bore the queen, and to that the matter should not come to light, dissembled and made feasts, giving the name 'Chica Raya' to the boy, which is the name always given to the heir to the throne."[12] When the boy attained the age of fourteen, he was married to a niece of the king and was regarded for all purposes as the heir-apparent. Yet the pseudo prince was not allowed to go out of the palace at Chandragiri except when he was in the compāny of the queen. This attitude of Veṅkaṭa I towards his putative son was only to placate his masterful queen Bāyamma and her ambitious brother, Jaggarāya.

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[9] R. Sewell. F. E. p. 223.

[10] Further Sources. p. 326.

[11] Heras. Op. cit. p. 499.

The great iñfluence exercised by Bāyamma and her brother Jagga is alluded to by several Jesuit writers after A. D. 1606. Father Coutinho wrote that Veṅkaṭa I was totally subservient to the queen and her brother and he was ready to give up his friendship with any one rather than displease the queen.[13] A letter written by Fr. Laerzio in A. D. 1611 mentions that Veṅkata I had practically handed over the government to one of his queens and a brother of hers.[14] Therefore, Bāyamma and her brother Jaggarāya seem to have determined to make the putative prince the successor of Veṅkaṭa I.

The vacillating policy of Veṅkaṭa I as regards his successor is here abundantly clear, He must have either discarded the claims of Bāyamma categorically or he must have satisfied her wishes and those of her brother without any hesitation. He did neither. Till the last moment of his life Veṅkaṭa was silent and then sowed the seeds of dissension by disregarding the claims of this putative son and recognising his nephew, Sriraṅga II, the younger son of his brother, Rama, the viceroy of Sriraṅgapaṭṭinam.

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[12] R. Sewell. Ibid. p. 223.

[13] Heras. Op. cit., p. 500.

[14] Ibid. p. 501.

The second great defect in Veṅkaṭa I was his alienation of the loyalty and sympathy of the two great Nāyaks of the Tamiḻ country namely, the Nāyak of Señji and the Nāyak of Madura. His unnecessary interference in the affairs of the Nāyakship of Señji led to the revolt of Kṛiṣhṇappa Nāyaka against the imperial power. The conquest of Vellore and removal of the capital from Chandragiri to Vellore tightened the hold over the Nāyaks of Śeñji, Tanjore and Madura. But the Nāyaks of Tanjore were loyal and sincere to Veṅkaṭa I. This extreme loyalty of the Tanjore Nāyaks towards the empire seems to have been resented by Muttuvīrappa Nāyaka of Madura, who tried to assert his independence in the later stages of Veṅkaṭa's reign.

The third and the greatest defect of Veṅkaṭa was his partiality for his second nephew, Sriraṅga II, the second son of Rāma. Veṅkaṭa's selection of Sriraṅga as his successor not only infuriated Jaggarāya, the most powerful nobleman in the kingdom, but it was also an injustice to prince Tirumala, the elder brother of Sriraṅga II. We know from the Jesuit letters that this prince Tirumala was very much liked by the feudatories of the empire. Says Fr. Coutinho, "Although the king (Veṅkaṭa I) loves more the youngest brother, who is being brought up in his very palace, nevertheless, people say the eldest one will be the king, because he is liked by more and stronger chieftains."[15] Against this desire of the feudatories, Veṅkaṭa wanted to disgrace prince Tirumala and disinherit him of his claims to the throne. Though Tirumala and Sriraṅga were the sons of his brother Rāma we are not in a position to explain the predilection of Veṅkaṭa towards the younger nephew. Veṅkaṭa I never allowed Tirumala to be with him.

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15. Q. J. M. S. Vol. 14. p. 314.

Dr. S. K. Iyengar was of opinion that Veṅkaṭa I sent his elder nephew Tirumala on an expedition against Vīrappa Nāyaka of Madura after A. D. 1583. Tirumala, instead of carrying out loyally the orders of his uncle, seems to have made common cause with the Nāyak of Madura. He was, therefore, superseded in the command of the force sent against Vīrappa Nāyaka. Then, Tirumala retired to his father's viceroyalty of Sriraṅgappaṭṭiṇam.[16] According to Father Heras, Tirumala was about 40 years old in A.D. 1610. He is also of opinion that Veṅkaṭa I wanted to disgrace Tirumala in the eyes of the feudatories and the people. It is inferable that Veṅkaṭa I secretly encouraged Rāja Uḍaiyār of Mysore to conquer Sriraṅgapaṭṭiṇam. Instead of helping his nephew against Rāja Uḍaiyār and thus maintaining the integrity of the empire, Veṅkaṭa did not even raise his little finger against Rāja Uḍaiyār. To ruin Tirumala's chances of succeeding him as emperor, Veṅkaṭa encouraged the dismemberment of the empire itself. Tirumala had to flee from Sriraṅgapaṭṭiṇam to Taḻakāḍ leaving his family behind. On the overthrow of Tirumala, Rāja Uḍaiyār received an ambassador named Gambira Rāja Virupaṇṇa, from Veṅkaṭapatirāya who conveyed his master's congratulations on his victory over Tirumala and his conquest was confirmed by the emperor.[17] Thus, for making Sriraṅga II his successor, Veṅkṭa I wantonly ruined the career of a brilliant prince who was much loved both by the Nayaks and the people in the Tamiḻ country.

Lastly, the choice of Sriraṅga II by Veṅkaṭa I as his successor was an unfortunate one. Sriraṅga himself, though young, never willingly accepted the choice of his uncle. We have the evidence of Barradas when he says that when

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[16] S. K. Iyengar. Ancient India. p. 260 and Heras. Q. J. M. S. Vol. 14. p. 314.

[17] S. K Iyengar. Ibid. pp. 219–20.

Veṅkaṭa extended towards him the hand on which he had the ring of state and requested him to take it, Sriraṅga respectfully requested the king to excuse him for not taking it. "The nephew burst into tears, begged the king to give it to whom he would, and that for himself he did not desire to be a king. ....and again begged him to pardon him if he wished not to take it."[18] Sriraṅga was prudent enough to know that his acceptance of the crown would end in a disaster both to himself and to the empire. But he had to obey the command of his uncle against his own discretion, and be the cause of a disastrous civil war which followed his accession to the throne.

Responsibility of Sriraṅga II for the civil war:

Was Sriraṅga II in any way responsible for the civil war? Though he was prudent enough at first, to reject the crown offered to him by his uncle, Sriraṅga had certain weakness in his character. The acceptance of the throne was not his fault but having become the emperor, he ought to have conducted himself in such a way that his enemies could not organise themselves effectively against him. He might have strengthened his position and prevented the civil war by his strength of character or by showing himself as a popular and strong willed monarch. But he showed neither strength of character nor did he possess the genius of a great leader who could instill fear and respect in the minds of those who opposed him. On the other hand Sriraṅga II seems to have played into the hands of his enemies who were only waiting for an opportunity to overthrow him.

Father Heras and Dr. Venkataramanayya mention a serious weakness in the character of the king on the authority of Queyroz. Before his accession to the throne Sriraṅga had stayed for some time at the court of the Nāyak or Tanjore where he had the acquaintance of several Belalas of Jaffnapatam.[19] There were plenty of political relations between the rulers of Jaffna and the Nāyaks of Tanjore. Some of the members of the royal family of Jaffna had settled at Tanjore. Sriraṅga II seems to have come into close contact with them. We do not exactly know the meaning of the term Belalas. Like Henry III of England who encouraged and gave many important offices to the Provencals in his court, Sriraṅga II appointed several Belalas to important offices in his kingdom. These Belalas were hated by the Telugu nobles like, Jaggarāya, Timma Nāik, Narparāza and others. Says Barradas, "Then the new king began to rule, compelling some of the captains to leave the fortress *but keeping others by his side.*[20] Perhaps this is a reference to the support given by Sriraṅga to the Belalas of Jaffna.

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[18] Sewell. Op. cit., pp. 223–24.

Secondly, the king displeased three of his important nobles. According to Barradas, the daḷavāy or the commander-in-chief of the army became an enemy of the king. He was a very influential person since he had the army under his control and had an income of 500 thousand cruzados and three important fortresses under him. Sriraṅga forced him to part with the fortresses in order to confer them on his own sons. It was not right on the part of the king to antagonise his daḷavāy and thus lose the support of the army. Another important person who was sentimentally wounded by the king was the chief minister. Sriraṅga seems to have accused him for having stolen a hundred thousand cruzados from his uncle, the late king, Veṅkaṭa I. We have no means of knowing the names of either the daḷavāy or the chief minister. It may be pointed out that Sriraṅga lacked the most important qualification of a ruler that is of adjusting himself to the situation. By his unadjustable temperament, Srirańga II lost the support of his daḷavāy and chief minister and converted them into staunch enemies.[21] Another person who became an enemy of Sriraṅga II was one Narpa Rāya who was a brother-in-law of Veṅkaṭa I since one of his sisters had been a queen of the latter. The queen had given away her jewels to her brother before her death. But, now, Sriraṅga insisted that the jewels which belonged to the state should be returned to him. This obstinate demand of Sriraṅga enraged Narpa Rāya who now joined with the daḷavāy and the chief minister and all the three plotted together with Jagga Rāya for overthrowing Sriraṅga.[22] Thus the king mismanaged the affairs of state and perished as a consequence of his mismanagement.

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[19] J. I. H. Vol. 5. p. 165 and F. S. Vol. I. p. 327.

[20] Sewell. p. 224.

Responsibility of Jaggarāya:

When Vekṅaṭa I invested Sriraṅga II with royalty by giving him valuable jewels and other royal insignia, many in the court were displeased. Says Barradas, "While some rejoiced, others were displeased." The foremost of them, who were displeased was Jaggarāya. We have already seen that Jaggarāya was the son of Gobbūri Ōbarāya and was the brother of Bāyamma, who had great influence over the late king and even compelled him to accept her pretended son as his successor. Through this putative son of Bāyamma, Jaggarāya wanted to be the *de facto* ruler. But his ambition was not fulfilled when Veńkaṭa I recognised Sriraṅga II as his successor. It was but natural that Jaggarāya would plan to dethrone Sriraṅga and to instal his nephew as the emperor. Now, he became the leader of the opposition and

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21. Ibid. p. 225.
22. Ibid.

was searching for supporters. This Jaggarāya was a overmighty baron with 600 thousand cruzados of revenue and with an army of twenty thousand soldiers.[23] Two other nobles who supported Jaggarāya in his nefarious activity were Timma Nāyak and Mākarāya. The former had 400 thousand cruzados of revenue and a force of twelve thousand men while the latter had 200 thousand cruzados of revenue with an army of six thousand men. According to Mr. H. Krishna Sastri this Mākarāya was one of the Karvetnagar chiefs who were subordinate to Vijayanagar.[24]

These three chiefs refused to recognise Sriraṅga II as the lawful sovereign of Vijayanagar and they were determined to raise the putative son of Veṅkaṭa I to the throne. They also spread a false news that Sriraṅga II did not belong to the Āravīḍu family. Father Heras believes that the apocryphal prophecy found in a Mackenzie Manuscript, which mentions that after the death of Veṅkaṭa I none of the members of the Āravīḍu line will remain but foreign rulers will rule the country, deriving their authority from no legal right, was merely a concoction spread by these conspirators before the civil war.[25] So, with the help of these two nobles and with three others whom we have already mentioned, Jaggarāya formed a formidable conspiracy to overthrow Sriraṅga.

Father Barradas had graphically described the way in which these unscrupulous nobles led by Jaggarāya surrounded Sriraṅga II in his palace at Vellore, imprisoned him with all the members of his family and then crowned his nephew as the Vijayanagar emperor at the same place.[26] We can try to

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23. Ibid. p. 224.
24. A. S. R. 1911. p. 188.
25. J. I. H. Vol. 5. p. 167.
26. Sewell. Op. cit., pp. 225–26.

justify the dethronement and imprisonment of Srirañga II by Jaggarāya because political ambition is never restrained by moral scruples. But his next atrocious action converted him from a normal human being into an abnormal fiend. After the successful plan of Yāchama Nāyak in saving one of the sons of Sriraṅga from the clutches of Jaggarāya, and after the failure of Srirañga II himself to escape from the prison through an underground passage with the help of Yāchama, Jaggarāya committed one of the most horrible crimes in the history of the world. He ordered that all the members of the royal family of Srirañga including innocent children should be murdered in cold blood. This wās as unpardonable crime for which retribution came only later when he was thoroughly defeated and killed by the supporters of Rāmadēvarāya. It was this murder which strengthened the cause of Yāchama Nāyak and evoked the sympathy of many nobles who were supporters of Jaggarāya to begin with. The assassination of Srirañga II, instead of strengthening the claims of Jaggarāya and his nephew to the imperial throne, made them detestable in the eyes of several nobles. We can even say that Fortune herself turned against them.

Yāchama Nāyak's part in the civil war:

The noblest personality in the history of the Vijayanagar civil war in the Tamiḻ country was that of Yāchama Nāyak. On the imprisonment of Sriraṅga II by Jaggarāya, the king was deserted by all except this valiant chief. Yāchama belonged to the Kāḷahaśti family and was the feudatory chief of Veñkaṭagiri. He was also known as Pedda Yāchama and Yācha Śurudu. He was the eldest son of Vēlugōṭi Kaśtūrirañga. He had been a loyal chieftain under Veñkaṭa I who bestowed on him the Perumbēḍu Śima and he played a glorious part in the battle of Uttiramērur in A. D. 1601.[27]

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[27] See Chapter on 'Feudatory Relations' ante.

Yāchama Nāyak was so loyal to Veṅkaṭa I and his successor Sriraṅga II that he wanted to stand up against the selfish and disloyal activities of Jaggarāya. After crowning the putative son of Veṅkaṭa I as the emperor, Jaggarāya had the audacity to command Yāchama Nāyak to do homage to the new emperor and even threatened him with complete destruction if he disobeyed his orders. But, Yāchama was not the person to be cowed down by such threats. His answer to Jaggarāya, according to Barradas, was, "That he was not the man to do reverence to a boy who was the son of no one knew whom, nor even what his caste was; and, so far as destroying him went, would Jaggarāya come out and meet him ? If so he would wait for him with such troops as he possessed."[28]

From this statement of Barradas we have to infer that the puppet emperor set up by Jaggarāya was only an impostor propped up by him and he had no real claims to the throne. It was the justice of the cause for which Yāchama stood that made him reply in such an admirable way. Having failed in an attempt to bring round Yāchama to support his nephew by threats, Jagga tried to cajole him. But nothing could shake the loyalty of Yāchama to Sriraṅga II. Therefore, Jagga turned his attention to the other captains of the kingdom and won them over by gifts and presents. Even though many of the nobles now deserted Sriraṅga II and joined with Jaggarāya, Yāchama continued to be firm both in his loyalty to the deposed and imprisoned ruler and his determination to thwart the ambitious and treacherous plans of Jaggarāya.

To strengthen the cause for which he was fighting Yāchama must arrange for the release of the person of Sriraṅga II or one of his sons from prison. But this was easier to imagine than to achieve. Undaunted by obstacles

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[28] Sewell. Op. cit., p. 226.

Yāchama tried thrice to arrange for the escape of the king from the strongly guarded prison. The first attempt was successful through the help of the palace washerman. From this washerman Yāchama came to know that the king was very anxious to escape from prison and thus to save the members of his family from life-long imprisonment. Yāchama sent word to the king through the washerman that he was ready to sacrifice anything for the sake of the king. Then he begged him to send *at least one of his three sons* through the washerman. Sriraṅga II readily agreed to the proposal and entrusted his second son aged twelve, (the future Rāmdēvarāya) to the care of the washerman who hid him carefully in a bundle of soiled clothes which he brought from the guarded prison and very skillfully carried him out of it. The washerman kept the prince in hiding for three days within his house and then handed him over to Yāchama Nāyak. The prince was received by him and by all his army with great rejoicing.[29]

Robert Sewell hesitated to believe this narrative of Barradas about the escape of prince Rāmadēva from the prison. But this news is confirmed by other sources of information. Yagnanārayaṇa Dīkshita in his Sāhityaratnākara mentions that the noble Yāchama Nāyak managed to rescue one of the sons of Sriraṅga II by a clever stratagem.[30] Ramabhadramba also mentions that the young prince was skillfully rescued from the palace at midnight, by a washerman.[31] Father Heras also gives the confirmatory evidence of Queyroz and Captain Pedro Barretto who mention that the emperor of Vijayanagar had to escape in a bundle of soiled linen which a washerman was taking to wash.[32] This successful stratagem of Yāchama Nāyak was the first step in fulfilling his plan of preventing Jaggarāya from enjoying his illgotten prize of the empire. When Jaggarāya heard of the escape of the prince, he doubled the guards of the prison of Sriraṅga and took every precaution to confine the imprisoned king within the four walls of the place.

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[29] Ibid. pp. 226-27 and Heras. J. I. H. Vol. 5. pp. 171–72.

[30] Sources. p. 274.

Yāchama Nāyak was much encouraged by his succes in bringing about the escape of the prince. "As soon as it was known that Yāchama Nāyak has possession of the king's son, there went over to him four of Jaggarāya's captains with 8000 men; so that he had in all 16 thousand and now had good hope of defending the rightful king."[33] But the subsequent two attempts of Yāchama to bring about the escape of Sriraṅga II ended in complete failure. It was due to an accident that Jaggarāya found out the underground passage intended for the escape of the king. We can even say that Sriraṅga II was so unfortunate that he missed a golden opportunity owing to his fate and was massacred along with the members of his family by the order of Jaggarāya.

Beginning of the civil war :

The inhuman manner in which Jaggarāya massacred Sriraṅga II and his family sent a thrill of horror and pity in the minds of the people throughout the empire. Rāmadēva, the sole survivor of the royal family and his loyal supporter, Yāchama Nāyak evoked the spmpathy of the many nobles who had been formerly the supporters of Jaggarāya. They now joined Yāchama and strongly supported Rāmadēva. They were helped by the brothers of Yāchama such as, Śiṅgappa, Rāyappa, Ayyappa, besides Dāmerla Ceṇṇa and

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31. Ibid. p. 288.
32. J. I. H. Ibid. p. 172.
33. Sewell. Op. cit., p. 227.

Maṭli Tiruveṅgalanātha.[34] Now, Yāchama sent the following message to Jaggarāya. "Now that you have murdered the king and all his family, and there alone remains this boy whom I rescued from thee and have in my keeping, come out and take the field with all thy troops: kill the boy and me and then thy nephew will be secure on the throne."[35] Jaggarāya was very hopeful of defeating Yāchama and capturing the young prince Rāmadēva and he met his enemies in an unknown place supported by his friends, Mākarāja and Rāviḷḷa Veṅka.[36]

In the battle which followed, the rightful cause of Yāchama Nāyak and Rāmadēva triumphed. Jaggarāya and his supporters were thoroughly defeated aud fled from the field in spite of their numerical superiority. Yāchama proclaimed Rāmadēva the emperor of Vijayanagar.[37] Jaggarāya with the pretender and other followers escaped to the jungles. The estates of Jaggarāya (Gobbūri estates) were confiscated to the state.

The Nāyaks of the Tamiḻ country and the civil war:

William Methwold, the English Factor at Masulipatam wrote as follows in about A. D. 1625 regarding the attitude of the Nāyaks of the Tamiḻ country during the civil war. "The first kingdom upon the mayne is that ancient one of Bisnagar, rent at this time into several provinces of governments held by the Naickes of that country in their own right; for since the last king (who deceased about fifteen years since) there have arisen several competitors for the crown, unto whom the Naickes have adhered according to their factions' or affections."[38] Prof. Sathianathaier is of opinion that the term 'affections' applied to the attitude of the Nāyak of Tanjore and the 'factions' referred to the attitude of the Nāyaks of Śeñji and Madura towards the rival claimants.[39] Why did Methwold describe the attitude of the Nāyaks of Śeñji and Madura as factions ? Because, these two Nāyaks supported Jaggarāya and the pretender to the Vijayanagar throne as against the rightful claimant Rāmadēvarāya and his supporter Yāchama Nāyak.

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[34] Further Sources. p. 330.

[35] Sewell. p. 229.

[36] F. S. p. 330.

[37] Heras J. I. H. Ibid. p. 178.

Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka of Śeñji had revolted against Veṅkaṭa I in A. D. 1608 and refused to pay tribute. It was Yāchama Nāyak who led the forces against Kṛishṇappa, defeated and imprisoned him. Later, he was pardoned by the emperor, Veṅkaṭa I through the influence of Raghunātha Nāyak of Tañjore. Therefore, there was no love lost between the Śeñji Nāyak and Yāchama Nāyak. The death of Veṅkaṭa I and the consequent troubles at Vellore were circumstances, which Kṛishṇappa of Śeñji wanted to take advantage of. He wanted to become completely independent by supporting Jāggarāya against Yāchama Nāyak. He had not forgotten the fact that Yāchama was responsible for his defeat in A. D. 1608. It was but natural that he joined with Jaggarāya. Further, he seems to have encouraged his subordinate, the Śōḷaga of Divukkōṭṭai not to support Yāchama Nāyak. In the battle of Tōpur and later the Nāyak of Śeñji was defeated by the loyalists.

Attitude of the Nāyak of Madura:

The Nāyak of Madura during the civil war was Muttuvīrappa Nāyaka I (C. 1606 – C. 1623). From the time of his accession, Muttuvīrappa was attempting to make himself independent of the imperial control. Father Vico in his letter of 30th August 1611 remarks that he was irregular in paying tribute and would never pay it willingly.[40] The death of Veṅkaṭa I and the rivalry between Jaggarāya and Yāchama Nāyak gave him the opportunity to side with the former and to assert his independence, if possible. Further, his attitude towards the Nāyak of Tanjore (Raghunātha Nayak) was not friendly. With a view to punish the Nāyak of Tanjore and to support the rebellious group led by Jaggarāya, Muttuvīrappa changed his capital from Madura to Trichinopoly.[41] Dr. S. K. Iyengar also supports the view when he says, 'On the question of Muttuvīrappa's hostility to the empire there can be no doubt'.[42] Dr. Venkataramanayya is of opinion that the Nāyaks of Madura and Śeñji actively supported Jaggarāya against Yāchama Nāyak.[43] Therefore, the Nāyaks of Madura and Śeñji were the active supporters of the rebels and the term 'factions' given by Methwold explains fully, their attitude towards the empire. Muttuvīrappa Nāyaka was not alone in supporting Jaggarāya. According to Barradas, the ruler of Travancore, who was then subject to the Nāyak of Madura also joined with his master against Rāmadēvarāya.[44]

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[38] W. H. Moreland. Relations of Golconda. London 1931. pp. 2–3

[39] R. Sathianathaier. Tamilaham in the 17th century. p. 30

Attitude of the Nāyak of Tanjore :

Following the traditional policy of loyalty towards the empire, Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore helped the young emperor Rāmadēvarāya and his supporter, Yāchama Nāyak. The late emperor, Sriraṅga II was closely associated with the Tanjore court in his early life. Raghunātha Nāyaka had a warm corner in his heart for the son of the murdered sovereign and for the justice of the cause for which Yāchama Nāyak was fighting. The Raghunāthabhyudayam mentions that Raghunātha Nāyaka was informed of the murder of Sriraṅga II by Jaggarāya and the civil war by some envoys from Vellore. The envoys who were sent by Yāchama Nāyak requested Raghunātha to take up the cause of the young emperor Rāmadēva and to protect the empire as he had done before during the siege of Peṉukoṇḍa by the Muslims.[45] But, Dr. Venkataramanayya maintains that Yāchama Nāyak himself visited the court of Raghunātha and earnestly requested him to take up the cause of Rāmadēva ank to enthrone him as the emperor of Vijayanagar. Raghunātha Nāyaka readily agreed to help Yāchama.[46]

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[40] The Nayaks of Madura. p. 99.

[41] Ibid. p. 103.

[42] Ibid. p. 99. F. N.

[43] F. S. p. 331.

[44] R. Sewell. p. 230.

Battle of Tōpur A. D. 1616 :

Having successfully accomplished his mission at Tanjore Yāchama, returned to Vellore and gathering all the forces which he could command, marched towards Trichinopoly. He was accompanied by Rāmadēvarāya and a number of other chiefs, such as Śiṅga, Rāyappa and Ayyappa. On the way he was joined by Raghunātha Nāyaka and both the armies proceeded towards Trichinopoly.[47] Jaggarāya and his vast forces were encamped at Tōpur (modern Tohur) a village on the southern bank of the Kāvēri about two miles from the Grand Anicut.[48] The two armies met there and the result was a bloody battle which decided the issue whether the pretender or Rāmadēva should be the emperor.

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[45] Sources. p. 288.

[46] F. S. 331.

[47] Ibid.

[48] J. I. H. Vol. 5. p. 182.

The battle began with an artillery duel which was followed by a charge of the Tanjore cavalry and the forces of Jaggarāya supported by the Nāyaks of Madura and Śeñji. Jaggarāya fell in battle and his death was the signal for the flight of his allies. Muttuvīrappa of Madura and Kṛishṇappa of Śeñji were said to have fled from the battle-field and saved their lives. The victory of Yāchama and Raghunāthu was complete. Raghunātha was said to have planted a pillar of victory on the field of battle and to have crowned Rāmadēvarāya the emperor of Vijayanagar at Kumbhakōṇam.[49] Dr. S. K. Iyengar thinks that the battle of Tōpur was a decisive one and the Nāyak of Madura and the Nāyak of Śenji retired to their territory. Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore pursued the forces of the Nāyak of Śeñji as far as Trivādi and after sending troops to bring Kṛishṇappa of Śeñji to his senses returned to Tanjore.[50] Rāmadēvarāya was installed as the emperor and the empire saved for the time being.

But, the battle of Tōpur is regarded by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya as a *turning point* in the history of the civil war which continued throughout the reign of Rāmadēvarāya till A. D. 1630. The death of Jaggarāya and the imprisonment of his nephew disorganised the rebellious party very much. Yāchama Nāyak after celebrating the coronation of Rāmadēva at Kumbhakōṇam is said to have seized all the estates belonging to the Gobbūri family in the northern part of the Tamiḻ country. Now, Yatirāja, the younger brother of Jaggarāya became the leader of the rebels.[51] Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka of Śeñji also joined Yatirāja. Raghunātha of Tanjore, now, sent an army against the rebels. Bhuvanagiri, near Chidambaram and other places were attacked and captured from the Nāyak of Śeñji.[52] But Yatirāja continued to resist the legitimate emperor and Yāchama defeated him at the battle of Pāḷayamkōṭṭai (Chidambaram Taluk, near Srimuṣhnam).[53]

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[49] S. K. Iyengar. Ancient India. p. 204 and The Nayaks of Tanjore. p. 88.

[50] S. K. Iyengar. Ibid. p. 295.

[51] F. S. Vol. 1. p. 333.

Meanwhile, the pretender, that is the putative son of Veṅkaṭa I died in A. D. 1619 and his death removed the main cause of the civil war.[54] Yatirāja, the brother of Jaggarāya, having no claimant for whom he could continue the civil war began to espouse the cause of Rāmadēva himself. But this new alliance between Rāmadēva and Yatirāja including a matrimonial one was not liked by the Nāyaks of Śeñji and Madura. They refused to recognise Rāmadēva as the emperor as before. "Nevertheless, Yatirāja did nol lose courage. Taking with him, the young emperor, Rāmadēva, he set out at the head of his army and was joined by Raghunātha Nāyak of Tanjore."[55] Dr. Venkataramanayya mentions some engagements between the rival groups on the authority of the Dutch sources at Pulicat. The Nāyak of Madura who was evidently Muttuvīrappa Nāyaka I was said to have attacked Tanjore and plundered and burnt down Pēṭṭai, the main market in the city of Tanjore in A. D. 1625. But, he was driven out by the combined forces of Yatirāja and Raghunātha who besieged the fort of Trichinopoly belonging to the Nāyak of Madura.[56]

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52. C. S. Srinivasachari. History of Senji. p. 146.
53. Sources. p. 305.
54. F. S. Vol. 1. p. 334.
55. Ibid.
56. Ibid. p. 334.

The alliance between Rāmadēvarāya and Yatirāja was not liked by Yāchama Nāyak. Further, Yāchama wanted to appropriate for himself the port of Pulicat which belonged to Yatirāja. While the forces of Yatirāja were engaged against the Nāyak of Madura, Yāchama attacked and captured Pulicat from the Dutch factor, Isjabrants. Śiṅgama, the younger brother of Yāchama was the Nāyak of Chingleput, and he marched at the head of 10,000 troops to help his brother at Pulicat. These events forced Yatirāja and Rāmadēvarāya to hasten towards Pulicat from Trichinopoly. We have no definite information from any source about the final fate of Yāchama Nāyak who seems to have died about A. D. 1626. His son Vēlugōṭi Kaśtūri Raṅga was holding sway over the region around Pondicherry, in South Arcot district.[57] Dāmerla Veṅkaṭapati, the chief of Kāḷahaśti also seems to have risen in revolt against Rāmadēvarāya in A. D. 1628.

But, Yatirāja and Rāmadēva did not despair of success. They persevered in their attempts and the rebellions of the various chiefs were gradually put down. The Nāyak of Śeñji was forced to accept the supremacy of the emperor. Kastūriraṅga, the son of Yāchama Nāyak and his paternal uncle Śiṅgama were defeated and forced to surrender the forts of Chingleput and Karuṉguḻipāḷem to the Rāya. Dāmerla Veṅkaṭapati also submitted in A. D. 1629. Thus the period of Rāmadēvarāya's rule in the Tamiḻ country was one of continued civil war in which the battle of Tōpur was very important, It must be regarded as a decisive battle even though it took fourteen years to bring the whole of the Tamiḻ country under his rule by Rāmadēvarāya.

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[57] Ibid.

Results of the civil war :

The civil war lasted for fourteen years from A. D. 1616 to 1630 till the death of Rāmadēvarāya. The first phase of the strife ending with the battle of Tōpur must be regarded as the critical period in the history of the Tamiḻ country. Tōpur was the 'Grand climacteric' of the Vijayanagar empire. It was a serious internal trouble unlike Tālikōṭa. Tālikōṭa was the result of Muslim hatred towards the Hindu empire but Tōpur showed the internal weakness and the jealousy between the rival groups within the empire. The coronation of Rāmadēvarāya re-established dynastic continuity, But, the empire during and after Rāmadēvarāya's reign was quite different from what it was once. Prof. Sathinathaier says tbat the empire was ruined materially anh morally and the battle of Tōpur must be regarded as its arch-emasculator.[58] We have the evidence of William Methwold for the material and moral disruption which spread as a result of the civil war. It brought about a great famine and the people were reduced to such a pitiable condition that parents sold their children for keeping their body and soul together. Chileren were sold at the rate of five faṉams worth of rice and it was a pitiable sight to see the European merchants buying these human merchandise and exporting them to foreign countries.[59] Though the civil war increased the prestige of Yāchama Nāyak and Raghunātha Nāyak of Tanjore, yet they were not really benefited by it. It brought about eternal enmity between the Nāyaks of Tanjore and Madura and they came to blows subsequently. Yāchama himself was deserted by Rāmadēvarāya who was drawn towards Yatirāja, the brother of his mortal enemy, Jaggarāya. The relation between Rāmadēvarāya and Yatirāja can be described as an unholy alliance which increased the contrifugal tendencies in the empire. It showed Rāmadēvarāya as vacillating as his father and even the Nāyak of Tanjore did not have any respect for him. The Nāyaks of Śeñji and Madura even though formally accepted the suzerainty of the Rāya, had no real respect for the empire. The example set up by Rāja Uḍaiyār of Mysore pointed to them the policy which they must also adopt and they did not hesitate to follow it. Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari has concluded that after the battle of Tōpur, a reconciliation was effected between Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore and Muttuvīrappa of Madura who offered one of his daughters in marriage to the former.[60] But, we do not know who brought about this reconciliation and how it was brought about. The sources for the history of Raghunātha do not mention this fact. So, we can agree with Prof. Sathinathaier when he says. 'The battle of Tōpur did not end happily with the marriage between Raghunātha Nāyak and the daughter of Muttuvīrappa. But, the civil war condemned the empire to a further course of internal tension.'[61]

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[58] R. Sathianathaier. Op. cit., p. 30.

[59] Moreland. Op. cit., p. 3

Further, the civil war showed the weakness of the Vijayanagar empire and the lack of support of the feudatories to the imperial cause. This was taken advantage of by the Śulṭāns of Bijāpur and Gōlkoṇḍa for extending their sulṭānates southwards. The final emasculation of the empire and the conquest of the Tamiḻ country by the Gōlkoṇḍa forces during the reigns of Veṅkaṭa II and Sriraṅga III were the direct results of the civil war.

The civil war was also responsible for the introduction of foreign rule in South India. It was during this period that the Dutch and the English were able to found factories on the eastern coast and then to penetrate into the heart of the Tamiḻ country and to dominate the region both politically and economically. Agriculture and trade suffered very much and the civil war was a great catastrophe which resulted in a severe famine. A Jesuit letter dated A. D. 1622 refers to the famine which had raged in Madura for some years, so much so, that nobody paid any attention to bury the victims of the scourge. The dead bodies were thrown on the banks of rivers to be carried away by floods in the rainy season.[62] Therefore, the great civil war was the 'Grand climacteric' of the Vijayanagar empire.

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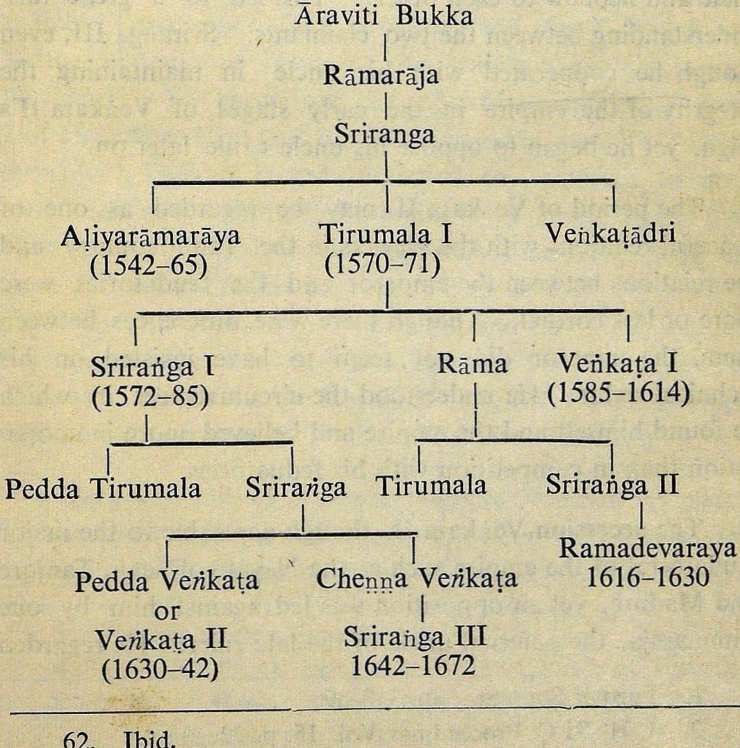
[60] C. S. S. History of Gingee. p. 146.

[61] R. Sathianathaier. Op. cit., p. 30.

Āravīḍu Dynasty:


Āraviti Bukka
Rāmarāja
Sriranga
Aḷiyarāmarāya (1542–65)
Tirumala I (1570–71)
Veṅkaṭādri
Sriraṅga I (1572–85)
Rāma
Veṅkaṭa I (1585–1614)
Pedda Tirumala
Sriraṅga
Tirumala
Sriraṅga II
Ramadevaraya 1616–1630
Pedda Veṅkaṭa or Veṅkaṭa II (1630–42)
Cheṉṉa Veṅkaṭa
Sriraṅga III 1642–1672

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[62] Ibid.

CHAPTER — XIV

THE TAMIL̤ COUNTRY UNDER VEṄKAṬA II

(1630 - 1642)

The death of Rāmadēvarāya on 24th May 1630, at the early age of twenty, is said to have plunged the Vijayanagar empire once again into anarchy and civil war.[1] Since Rāmadēvarāya had no issue, he had nominated one of his cousins Peda Veṅkaṭa, a grandson of Aḷiya Rāmarāya as his successor. Dr. S.K. Iyengar was of opinion that two princes, Peda Veṅkaṭa and Srira*n*ga III had been recognised by Rāmadēva as his successors and they stood in the relation of uncle and nephew to each other.[2] This led to a great misunderstanding between the two claimants. Sriraṅga III, even though he cooperated with his uncle in maintaining the integrity of the empire in the early stages of Veṅkaṭa II's reign, yet he began to oppose his uncle's rule later on.

The period of Veṅkaṭa II may be regarded as one of peaceful relations with the Nāyaks in the Tamil̤ country and the relations between the emperor and the feudatories were more or less cordial. Though there were differences between them, the emperor did not seem to have insisted on his technical rights. He understood the circumstances in which he found himself and the empire and believed more in cooperation than in competition with his feduatories.

The accession Veṅkaṭa II, though agreeablc to the major feudatories of the empire such as the Nayaks of Śeñji, Tanjore and Madura, yet an opposition was led against him by one Timmarāja, the paternal uncle of the late ruler. He regarded

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1. Further Sources. pp. 338–39
2. I. H. R. C. Proceedings Vol. 15. p. 22.

himself as a better claimant to the throne than Veṅkata II and set up the standard of revolt. Timmarāja conquered the forts of Karuṅguḻipālam near Wandiwash and Kātūr near Pulicāt. Now, prince Sriraṅga III is said to have helped his uncle against the rebel. With the help of Isjabrants, the Dutch factor at Pulicāt, Sriraṅga was able to capture Kātūr and Kōlūr (Poṉṉēri Tāluk) and Timmarāja was forced to retire to Kāñchi. Here, it is said, that Timmarāja was surrounded by another section of the imperial army and forced to sue for peace.[3]

Who sent this another section of the imperial army against Timmarāja? Evidently it must be the Nāyaks of the Tamiḻ country. Did the Nāyak of Śeñji help Veṅkaṭa II against Timmarāja? The contemporary Śeñji Nāyak was Muttu Veṅkaṭappa Nāyaka, the grandson of Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka II. We know from a copper plate inscription dated 21st December 1639 that this Muttuveṅkaṭa was on friendly terms with Veṅkaṭa II and requested the emperor to grant some lands to learned Brahmins.[4] A Jesuit letter from Vellore, dated 13th July 1634 mentions that Veṅkaṭa II had gone to Śeñji to dismiss the army which he had collected to put down the rebellion of Timmarāya and the king told the Portuguese father Pero Mexia not to help Timmarāya in any manner.[5] Therefore, the Nāyak of Śeñji (Muttu Veṅkaṭappa) was a loyal supporter of Veṅkaṭa II against Timmarāja.

Did the Nāyak of Tanjore support Veṅkaṭa II against Timmarāya? Mr. Viruddhagiresan is of opinion that Vijayarāghava Nāyak of Tanjore remained sincere and loyal towards

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[3] Further Sources. p. 340

[4] C. P. No. 24 of 1941.

[5] Father Heras. Proceedings of the III Oriental Conference. pp. 332-33.

Veṅkata II and upheld the cause of the empire.[6] But a letter of Fr. Pero Mexia dated 5th September 1634 mentions that Veṅkaṭa II was planning to go over to Tanjore or Nagapatam with the intention of dethroning the Nāyak and replacing him by one of his own sons (illegitimate).[7] Why did the emperor plan to dethrone the Nāyak of Tanjore (Vijayarāghava) and to make his illegitimate son as the Nāyak? Perhaps, Vijayarāghava was supporting Timmarāja against the emperor and his inscriptions during this period do not refer to his recognition of the imperial authority. Vijayarāghava seems to have broken with the tradition of loyalty towards the empire and was helping Timmarāja against Veṅkata II.

Did Tirumala Nāyaka (1623–1659) of Madura help Veṅkaṭa II in his wars against Timmarāja? The Kūniyūr plates dated (5th May 1634) prove beyond doubt that Tirumala Nāyaka was loyal towards the emperor. Therefore, the Nāyaks of Śeñji and Madura seemed to have helped Veṅkaṭa II against his enemies and it was with their help that Timmarāja was defeated though he was allowed to keep Chingleput and Karuṅguḻipālam. But he continued to give trouble and was imprisoned and put to death by the Nāyak of Śeñji. With his death in A. D. 1635 the initial troubles of Veṅkaṭa II came to an end and he was recognised as the undisputed monarch with Vellore as his capital.[8] Dr.N. Venkataramaṇayya postulates a rebellion of the Nāyaks of Tanjore and Madura against Veṅkaṭa II in A. D. 1637 because the emperor was in close alliance with the Nāyak of Śeñji. But, he later admits that the history of this rebellion is unkown.[9] There are no evidences to support this assumed rebellion and it is an imaginary one.

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[6] The Nayaks of Tanjore. p. 130.

[7] Fr. Heras. Op. cit., p. 334.

[8] Further Sources. p. 340.

[9] Ibid. p. 341.

The Nāyaks of the Tamiḻ country under Veṅkaṭa II:

For the proper administration of the Tamiḻ country Veṅkaṭa II allowed the three ancient Nāyakships to continue without any disturbance. A new Nāyakship which came into existence during the reign of his predecessor was entrusted to the two Dāmerla brothers, Veṅkata and Aiyappa. They were related to the emperor as brothers-in-law and they were entrusted with the administration of the territory forming the present Chingleput and parts of Chittoor districts. Dāmerla Veṅkaṭa had Wandiwash (North Arcot) as his headquarters but he seems to have stayed either at Vellore or Chandragiri with the emperor since his advice and guidance always required his presence there. His brother Aiyappa actually carried on the administration of the province with Poonamalle as his head-quarters. The English factory records describe the two brothers as 'Lords general of Carnātica' and it was from the elder of the two brothers the English merchants got permission to found a factory at Madras in A. D. 1639.[10] The emperor's nephew Sriraṅga (III) who had been recognised as heir-apparent, was given the charge of the territory immediately north of that held by the Dāmerla brothers and he was entrusted with the responsibility of defending the northern frontiers against Golkonda.[11] His head-quarters seem to have been Chandragiri.

The Nāyak of Śeñji held the territory south of Wandiwash as far as the river Coleroon and the contemporary Nāyaka was Muttu Veṅkaṭappa, the grandson of Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka. Vijayarāghava Nāyaka was the ruler of Tanjore and the famous Tirumala Nāyaka was ruling over Madura.

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[10] Foster. The English Factories in India. 1637–41. p. 37.

[11] I. H. R. C. 15. p. 22.

The relations between the emperor and the various Nāyaks in the Tamiḻ country became a very delicate affair during the reign of Veṅkaṭa II. During the civil war, the Nāyaks of Śeñji and Madura had actively supported the usurper and Jaggarāya as against the legal claimant. But Raghunātha of Tanjore was the main support of the loyalists. But the close of the civil war saw the two recalcitrant Nāyaks changing themselves into half-hearted supporters of the emperor. They helped Veṅkaṭa II against Timmarāja and but for their help, Timmarāja could not have been easily put down. We have also seen that Vijayarāghava of Tanjore turned a traitor and did not actively support Veṅkaṭa II even though he did not openly show his enmity.

Now, what sort of attitude should Veṅkaṭa adopt to keep these Nāyaks in their good humour? Veṅkaṭa II must be regarded as the wisest of the later Āravīḍu monarchs because he understood the political situation of the empire correctly and adjusted his relations towards the feudatories in an amicable way. He was not a believer in technical rights and complete subordination of the feudatories to the empire. The independence of Mysore pointed the way in which the wind was blowing. If the emperor was very strict towards them, they would completely throw off their allegiance. And it was not a period in which the empire could be saved wiihout the allegiance of the feudatories. The Sulṭānātes of Bijāpur and Gōlkoṇḍa were only waiting for an opportunity to overthrow the Vijayanagar rule in the south. These considerations seem to have influenced the attitude of Veṅkaṭa II towards the Nāyaks in the Tamiḻ country. Perhaps, he knew that it was a dangerous precedent but there was no other alternative. The empire was weaker in resources than it was before A. D. 1614 and the pre-civil war policy would be a disastrous one. A letter of father Proenza dated 1659 mentions the attitude of Tirumala Nāyaka towards the empire and the view taken by Veṅkaṭa II as regards that attitude. "Tirumala Nāyaka, during several years gave only rich presents as marks of deference and friend-ship, without paying his tribute. The old Narasiṅga dissembled, to avoid the embarrassments of a war.[12] Veṅkaṭa II was essentially a lover of peace at any price and he seems to have purposely avoided a definitive relation between the Nāyaks and himself. The Kūniyūr plates of 1634 and the Piṉṉalūr plates of 1639 prove this dubious relation between the feudatories and the emperor. Father Heras thought that one of the concubines of Veṅkaṭa II disastrously influenced Veṅkaṭa II. She was in secret correspondence with Tirumala Nāyaka of Madura and fostered in him ideas of independence.[13]

This indefinite policy of Veṅkaṭa II towards the Nāyaks of the Tamiḻ country and his close relations with the Dāmerla brothers seem to have estranged the relations between him and his nephew, Sriraṅga (III) who was a man of great promise and ambition. He did not like the lenient and the dangerous policy of his uncle and wanted a more definite and aggressive attitude towards the feudatories. This naturally led to a misunderstanding between the uncle and the nephew who deserted him and made common cause with the muslim enemies of the north.

The Sulṭāns of Bijāpur and Gōlkoṇḍa were ever waiting for an opportunity to extend their Śulṭānates into the Vijayanagar empire and their invasions might be said to have begun in right earnest during the reign of Veṅkaṭa II. Randaula Khan, the Bijāpur general was sent against Mysore and other small chiefs in the Karnāṭaka region who were only nominally subject to Vijayanagar. The chiefs were the rulers of Ikkēri, Tarikēre, Baśavappattaṇam and Baṅgalore. Before completely conquering them and annexing their territories to Bijāpur, Randaula seems to have artfully proposed an alliance with Veṅkaṭa II promising to hand over all their territories to the Rāya and that he would be content with the plunder of their territories. Veṅkata II seems to have accepted this proposal at first, but when he understood the real significance of Randaula's object, repudiated it.[14] But, Randaula made an alliance witn Sriraṅga III who was dissatisfied with his uncle's vacillating policy towards his feudatories. With the help of Sriraṅga, Randaula marched against Vīrabhadra Nāyaka of Ikkēri who was defeated and forced to flee to a fortress called Bhuvanagiri. Randaula then marched against Kempe Gauḍa, the chieftain of Baṅgalore and entrusted the campaign against him to Sriraṅga III.[15]

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[12] R. Sathianathaier. Nayaks of Madura. p. 264.

[13] P. O. C· III. Madras. p. 335.

On hearing the news of Sriraṅga's revolt, Veṅkaṭa II was said to have appealed to the Nāyaks in the Tamiḻ country for help.[16] We know from the famous Tamiḻ ballad called *Rāmappaiyan Ammānai* that Daḷāvāy Rāmappaiyan of Madura was sent by Tirumala Nāyaka to help the Rāya against Randaula Khan and Sriraṅga III between 1639–41. The Daḷavāy was informed that the Muslims had invaded the Rāya's dominions and Vellore was plundered, and that immediate help was needed. Rāmappaiyan met Tirumala Nāyaka and with his good wishes proceeded to Vellore through the following places: Śōḷavandāṇ, Vadmadurai, Diṇdigul, Maṇappārai, Trichinopoly, Sriraṅgam; Śamayavaram, Kaṇṇanūr, Uttāttūr, Vālikaṇḍapuram and Āraṇi. From Vellore, the Daḷavāy marched towards Baṅgalore and met Veṅkaṭa II there. With the help of Veṅkaṭakṛishṇaiyar of Ikkēri, he defeated the Muslims and captured from them 1000 horses, 60 elephants and 50 camels. Veṅkaṭa II very much appreciated the services of Rāmappaiyan; loaded him with costly presents and even requested him to be with him as his commander-in-chief. Rāmappaiyan excused himself but promised to be at the Rāya's command whenever his services were required and returned to Madura.[17]

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[14] Further Sources Vol. I. pp. 341-2.

[15] Ibid. p. 343

[16] Ibid.

This account proves the favourable attitude of Tirumala Nāyaka towards the empire and his loyal services to Veṅkaṭa II. But, Dr. Veṅkaṭaramanayya says that nothing is known of this campaign except that Veṅkaṭa II was defeated and returned to Vellore in July 1639 having agreed to pay a large indemnity to Randaula.[18] Again, he mentions an invasion of Vellore in August 1641 by Randaula and Sriraṅga III. They were said to have pitched their camp at a distance of twelve miles from Vellore. But the timely arrival of help from the Nāyaks of Madura, Tanjore and Śeñji checked the advance of the Bijāpur general and gave some relief to Veṅkaṭa II.[19] We have no reliable indigenous evidence to prove this help of the Nāyaks to the emperor. While the Bijāpur forces were thus overwhelming the western part of the Vijayanagar empire, the Sulṭān of Gōlkoṇḍa wanted to have his own share of the spoils in the eastern part. A grand army of 4000 horse and 14000 foot was sent to appropriate as much territory as they could in the eastern part of the empire in April 1642. The army marched along the coast capturing on the way several forts and reached Ārmagon in the extreme south of Nellore district and the people fled in penic towards Pulicat, Without losing courage Veṅkaṭa II is said to have organised a grand coalition with Vēlugōti Timma, the Nāyak of Ārmagon and the Dāmerla Veṅkaṭa brothers of Madraspatṇam and Poonamalle. But they could not offer effective resistance to the mighty forces of Gōlkoṇḍa. Vēlugōti Timma lost Sriharikōṭa between Ārmagon and Pulicat and had to flee to the hills by night. Veṅkaṭa II and his brothers-in-law had to retire to the mountains in the Chittoor district where he had to lead a miserable life and died at Nārāyaṇavaṉam on 10th October 1642.[20]

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[17] R. Sathianathaier Tamiḻaham in the 17th Century. p.39.

[18] F. Sources. Vol. 1. p. 346.

[19] Ibid. pp. 346-47.

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[20] Further Sources. Vol. I. p. 347. Foster. The English Factories in India(1642–45). pp. 44–5. I. H. R. C. Proceedings. Vol. 15. p. 24.

CHAPTER — XV

THE LAST EMPEROR OF VIJAYANAGAR - ŚRĪRAṄGA III (1642-72)

Since Veṅkaṭa II had no legitimate son, he was succeeded by his 'treacherous' nephew, Śrīraṅga III on 29th October 1642. The adjective 'treacherous' is due to the fact that he joined with the Bijāpur forces against his uncle. But, on seeing a chance of saving the empire, he deserted the Bijāpur general and came forward as the defender of his ancestral empire.[1] Why was Śrīraṅga treacherous towards his uncle? He was not satisfied with the policy of Veṅkaṭa II towards his feudatories. The northern part of the Tamiḻ country, the region around Pulicāt and Madras has been entrusted by Veṅkaṭa II to two brothers Dāmerla Veṅkaṭa and Ayyappa who were his brothers-in-law. The elder, Dāmerla Veṅkaṭa with his head-quarters at Wandiwash was the Nāyak of a big province with a large revenue. However, he had been with Veṅkaṭa II at Vellore and directed the administration for the emperor, while his brother Ayyappa held the Nāyakship of Poonamalle.[2] Owing to the influence of these brothers the attitude of Veṅkaṭa II towards Sriraṅga was not cordial. Further, Sriraṅga did not approve of the dubious but cautious policy of his uncle towards the other Nāyaks of the Tamiḻ country especially the Nāyaks of Śeñji and Madura. Sriraṅga was convinced that the speedy decline of the empire was due to the ill-defined and over-lenient attitude of his uncle towards the Nāyaks. Moreover, Sriraṅga was a different type of person from his uncle.

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1. Further Sources· Vol. I. p. 348.
2. S. K. Iyengar. South Indian History and Culture. p. 378·

He was the third son of the younger brother of Veṅkaṭa II and on general considerations he must have been young and vigorous. "The new king (Śrīraṅga III) far superior to his father (uncle, Veṅkaṭa II) in talents and courage, hastened to vindicate his rights."[3] He did not believe in the 'peace at any price' policy of his predecessor. His youth, ability and ambition induced him to adopt a completely different attitude towards his feudatories.[4] If the circumstances under which Śrīraṅga III ascended the throne had been favourable and if the Nāyaks had understood his real intentions of saving the empire from the invasions of the Muslims, his policy would have been an admirable one. But he failed to impress the Nāyaks by his hasty actions and the goodness of his intentions was spoiled by the badness of his sudden and violent activities. The conditions under which Śrīraṅga came to the throne were hardly propitious for a peaceful and successful rule. The Bijāpur forces were quickly occupying the western and central parts of the Vijayanagar empire. The Sulṭān of Gōlkoṇḍa had ordered his generals to bring the eastern coastal region under their control. The Dāmerla brothers, especially the elder, were definitely against Sriraṅga. The Nāyak of Señji was unwilling to pay tribute. Vijayaraghava Nāyaka of Tanjore, though not inimical towards Śrīraṅga, was impotent as a political figure. Tirumala Nāyaka of Madura had already tasted the fruits of independence by humouring Veṅkaṭa II by occasional presents of dubious loyalty.

The Muslim invasions of the Vijayanagar empire were due to an understanding between Bijāpur and Gōlkoṇḍa. The Mughal advance in the Deccan resulted in the complete conquest of Aḥmadnagar during the reign of Shāh Jahān. From the territories of Aḥmadnagar a Mughal viceroyalty was formed and Shāh Jahan also imposed a treaty upon the Sulṭānates of Bijāpuṛ and Gōlkṇḍa to keep them at peace with the new viceroyalty in 1636. This treaty set the Sulṭānates free for active operations in the territories of the Vijayanagar empire south of the river Kṛishṇa.[5] The Gōlkoṇḍa invasion of Udayagiri began in April 1642 before the death of Veńkaṭa II. Now, it became an important duty of Śrīraṅga III to drive the Muslims from the northern part of his kingdom if the southern portion was to be saved. This could be achieved only with the active support, both financial and military, and cooperation of his feudatories. The Nāyaks who should have helped Śrīraṅga in this predicament were Dāmerla Veńkaṭa of Wandiwash, Veṅkaṭappa of Śeñji, Vijayarāghava of Tanjore and Tirumala of Madura. But, it seems that none of these Nāyaks was interested in saving the empire and was willing to help Śrīraṅga. Further, Dāmerla Veṅkaṭa even intrigued with the Gōlkoṇḍa forces and was only too willing to work for the destruction of Śrīraṅga. An English letter dated 4th January 1643 from Fort St. George mentions that Dāmerla Veńkaṭa had been detected in intrigue with Gōlkoṇḍa and imprisoned by Śrīraṅga III and deprived of all his territory except that of Poonamalle and the surrounding district.[6] The letter also mentions that Ayyappa, the brother of Dāmerla Veńkaṭa and his other relatives were making efforts to get him released and were gathering an army against Śrīraṅga[7]. In this difficult situation, Śrīrańga must have approached the other Nāyaks of the Tamiḻ country for help against the Muslims of Gōlkoṇḍa. But it seems that none of the Nāyaks rushed to his help. Therefore, Śrīrańga was forced to seek help from the Sulṭān of Bijāpur. He promised to pay a sum of 15 lakhs of pagodas and 15 elephants and obtained an army of 6000 horses and 20,000 foot. With this army Śrīraṅga defeated the Muslims and dislodged them from Udayagiri in January 1644.[8]

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[3] The Nayaks of Madura. p. 264.

[4] Tamiḻaham in the 17th century. p. 41.

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[5] J. N Sarkar. History of Aurangazeb. Vol. I· p· 228.

[6] W. Foster. The English Factories in India. 1642–45. p. 79

[7] Ibid. p. 80.

This success of Śrīraṅga over the Gōlkoṇḍa forces was unexpected. It was not welcomed by the Nāyaks of the Tamiḻ country. Śrīraṅga felt too much emboldened to teach a salutary lesson to his feudatories who refused to help him in a critical moment soon after his accession. He determined on a firm attitude towards them and reminded them that they were his vassals and were bound to pay tribute and help him to safeguard the empire. If they failed in their duty, he was not to be blamed. Dr. Venkataramanayya mentions that Śrīraṅga collected the arrears of tribute from the the Nāyaks and paid the subsidy of 15 lakhs of pagodas to the Sulṭān of Bijāpur. The Nāyak of Śeñji seems to have demurred and Śrīraṅga attempted to seize the town of Āraṇi from him.[9]

The firm attitude of the emperor towards the Nāyaks estranged the relations between them. Śrīraṅga was rather harsh towards Dāmerla Veṅkaṭa for his disloyalty, deprived him of his estate and appointed one Malliya Chetty as the Nāyak of the territory around Pulicāt. Malliya had formerly been an agent of the Dutch at Pulicāt but had deserted them and took service under Śrīraṅga who rewarded him with a Nāyakship. The Nāyak of Śeñji following the example of Tirumala Nāyaka of Madura seems to have resented the overbearing attitude of Śrīraṅga. Dr. Venkatramanayya suggests that he sought the help of the Sulṭān of Gōlkoṇḍa and planned an attack against Śrīraṅga.[10] But, it is not possible to accept this view because the Nāyak was too weak to plan a seperate campaign against the emperor. Mr. Viruddagiresan is of opinion that Vijayarāghava of Tanjore was completely loyal towards Śrīṅga III and upheld the cause of the empire.[11] As regards the attitude of Tirumala Nāyaka of Madura we have the evidence of the Jesuit letters which mention that he was definitely against Śrīraṅga. His arrogance grew with his strength. But he had no trust in his military resources to defend himself against the emperor but resorted to underhand dealings. Tirumala was said to have formed a disloyal and secret alliance against Śrīraṅga with the Nāyaks of Tanjore and Śeñji.[12] Did Vijayarāghava Nāyak of Tanjore join the triple alliance willingly? If he had any real grievance against Śrīraṅga, he would not have divulged the secrecy of the alliance to the king. Therefore, we have to accept the statement of Fr. Proenza with some caution. Perhaps he was forced to join the alliance against his own conscience and therefore he withdrew from it at the last moment and informed Śrīraṅga of the league against him. Hence, his action has been dubbed 'mean' by Father Proenza.

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[8] Ibid. pp. 115-6 and 194-4. and Further Sources. Vol. I. p. 351. Sources p. 314.

[9] Ibid.

Was Tirumala Nāyaka of Madura morally justified in forming a disloyal conspiracy against his own Sovereign? The Jesuit writers did not commend his attitude towards the emperor. They stigmatised it as unsound and regarded Tirumala to have been swayed by selfishness and fury.[13] Dr. S. K. Iyengar had vehemently criticised the action of Tirumala Nāyaka when he observed, "The responsibity of not coopertating with (Srirañga) must rest with the Nāyak of Madura and there was nothing in the situation except perhaps, selfishness to justify his attitude not merely of aloofness but even of active hostility.[14]

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[10] Ibid. p. 351.

[11] The Nayaks of Tanjore. p. 130.

[12] The Nayaks of Madura. p. 118.

[13] Ibid.

But, Prof. Sathianathaier contends that Tirumala Nāyaka must not be blamed for this alliance against Śrīrańga. The emperor wanted to put an end to the delicate and ambiguous relationship between him and the Nāyaks and forced a war on Tirumala.[15] Ambiguous relationships are always dangerous and this dangerous ambiguity destroyed the Vijayanagar empire immediately and the Nāyakships subsequently.

The alliance which Tirumala Nāyaka had organised against Śrīrañga was secretly made known to him by the Nāyak of Tanjore according to the Jesuit evidence. If the Nāyak of Tanjore had willingly joined the league, we are at a loss to know why he informed the emperor about it. Anyhow, we are told, that Śrīrańga marched against the Nāyaks burning and plundering the countryside along the route until he reached a place called Cēṭṭipaṭṭu and awaited the arrival of the rebels.[16] Dr. Venkataramaṅayya further says that the Nāyaks of Tanjore and Madura came to oppose him with 10,000 troops and halted at a place called Śakraparon. But, he does not mention the original authority for this information. We have no evidence to support the view that the Nāyak of Tanjore joined with Tirumala Nāyaka after having divulged the secret to the emperor. But, the author says, since the Nayaks were not sure of victory they sought help from Gōlkoṇḍa and Bijāpūr promising to pay them large sums of money.[17]

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[14] The Nayaks of Madura. p. 128. F. N.

[15] Ibid. p. 127.

[16] Further Sources. Vol. I. p. 353.

Dr. N. Venkataramanayya also mentions that Śriraṅga marched against the Nāyaks with 100 elephants, 12000 horses and 300,000 foot and inflictəd a defeat on the forces of the Nāyak of Śeñji and forced him to submit. But the Nāyaks of Tanjore and Madura offered stubborn resistance.[18] There are some inconsistencies in the above statements. We do not know whether Śriraṅga could have mobilised such a formidable army with his limited resources. It is certain that the Nāyak of Tanjore was not in the league. There might have been an opposition against Śrīraṅga led by the Nāyaks of Śeñji and Madura and the defeat which they suffered at the hands of Śrīraṅga must have induced them to appeal to Gōlkonda and Bijāpur. This victory of Śrīraṅga is referred to in a letter dated October 1645 which mentions that Śrīraṅga had brought all his great lords under his command which had not been these forty years before.[19] It was then that an English mission under Greenhill went to Vellore and obtained a grant from Śrīraṅga confirming the grant of Fort St. George to the English.[20]

The appeal which Tirumala Nāyaka made to the Sulṭān of Gōlkoṇḍa was only the spark which readily kindled the fire of Muslim ambition against Vijayanagar. The Jesuit letter of Fr. Proenza informs us that Tirumala Nāyaka appealed to the Sulṭān of Gōlkoṇḍa.[21] But, Dr. N. Venkataramanayya on the basis of Dutch sources, mentions that he applied for help to the Sulṭān of Bijāpur also.[22]

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17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
19. W. Foster. Op. cit., p. 289.
20. Ibid.
21. The Nayaks of Madura. p. 128.
22. F. S. op. cit., p. 353.

The Gōlkoṇḍa forces under Mir Jumla marched against the dominions of Śrīraṅga from the east and those of Bijāpur under Muṣṯafā Khān from the west. Thus Śrīraṅga was to be hemmed in between the jaws of these two great invasions which would converge at Vellore, This sudden change in the fortunes of Śrīraṅga forced him to abandon his campaign against the Nāyak of Madura and to retreat towards Vellore. The Gōlkoṇḍa forces under Mir Jumla besieged Udayagiri in the north-eastern border of Śrīraṅga's empire. An English letter dated 10th February 1646 mentions the following facts. "The country is at present full of wars and troubles. The king of Bijāpur's army is come into this country on the one side and the king of Gōlkoṇḍa on the other. Mir Jumla is general for the king of Gōlkoṇḍa who has already taken three of the king's castles. One of them is reported to be the strongest hold in this kingdom. Malliya Chetty was in charge of it. But he surrendered it to Mir Jumla upon composition for himself and all his people to go away free."[23] The stronghold mentioned here is Udayagiri.

Meanwhile, Muṣṯafā Khān was marching rapidly from Bijāpur towards Vellore and reached Bukkapaṭṉam in Chittoor district. Śrīraṅga's position became utterly hopeless. Though he appealed to his subjects and the Nāyaks in the name of religion, temples and brahmins, none rushed to his help. According to Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, the Nāyaks had determined to get rid of Śrīraṅga and massed 60 thousand soldiers in the neighbourhood of Vellore.[24] Thus, without any other resort, Śrīraṅga had to fall into the hands of Muṣṯafā Khān. He sent his ambassador, Venkanna Sōmayāji to make peace with Muṣṭafā K͟hān. After gaining some time Śrīraṅga was said to have sent an army against the Nāyaks under his Daḷavāy, Rāmarāja. But this army was severely defeated by the Nāyaks near Tiṇḍivaṇam.[25] This defeat forced Śrīraṅga to seek the help of Muṣṭafā against the Nāyaks. But the main aim of Muṣṭafā K͟hān was not to help either Śrīraṅga or his enemies. He wanted to get large sums of money from both of them. But, Śrīraṅga was too poor to satisfy the demands of Muṣṭafā who occupied Kuḍiyāttam and Viriñchipuram (N. A. Dt.) and reached a place wiihin three miles of Vellore.[26] Now, we know from the Dutch records that Śrīraṅga suffered a severe defeat at Vellore and was forced to pay what all he had, as war indemnity to Muṣṭafā.[27]

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[23] W. Foster. Op. cit., 1646–50.

[24] Further Sourccs. Vol. I. p. 355.

The series of defeats suffered by the emperor sobered his attitude towards the Nāyaks of Śeñji and Madura. According to Fr. Proenza, he wanted to make peace with them and offered them favourable conditions which were accepted by the Nāyaks.[28] But, we do not know what favourable conditions were offered and accepted. Dr. Venkataramanayya says that the Nāyaks invited Śriraṅga to Śeñji to concert measures for the defence of the country and he left Vellore in order to meet them.[29] But the results of the meeting between thc emperor and the Nāyaks proved to be disappointing. Says Fr. Proenza; "Here the Indian character was revealed. Narasiṅga (Śrīraṅga III) spent more than a year with the three Nāyaks in the midst of festivities, feasts and pleasures during which the Mahammadans quietly achieved the conquest of his dominions. Soon vain joys gave place to jealousies and divisions.[30]

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[25] Ibid.

[26] Ibid.

[27] W. Foster. Op. cit., 1646–50. pp. 24–45.

[28] The Nayaks of Madura. p. 264.

[29] F. S. p. 360.

While Śrīraṅga III and the Nāyaks were holding their vain meetings, Mir Jumla had conquered Pulicāt from the Dutch and was marching southwards. An English letter dated January 1646 mentions that Nawab Mir Jumla had occupied Pulicāt and San Thome. He had encamped within two days march from Vellore but nobody came to oppose him.[31] Another letter dated October 1647 states that the English obtained a renewal of the grant of Madras from Mir Jumla and Śrīraṅga had fled the country.[32] Mir Jumla not only captured Pulicāt but was also said to have occupied Poonamalle, Kāñchipuram and Chingleput one after another as far as the frontiers of Śeñji and retired to Kāñchipuram in March 1648.[33] Now, Śriraṅga gave up all hopes of defending his kingdom. He could not even think of returning to Vellore since the Gōlkoṇḍa forces under Mir Jumla were hovering about Śeñji and Vellore. Rejected by the Nāyaks, Śrīraṅga had to establish his court in the forests lying to the north of Tanjore where he spent four months suffering all discomforts. Soon his courtiers also began to desert him. Thus, this grand monarch, one of the richest in India was forced to beg help from the king of Mysore, once the vassal of his crown.[34(a)]

Mr. Hayavadana Rao is of opinion that Śrīraṅga fled to Bednore and sought the help of Śivappa Nāyaka of Ikkēri in A. D, 1646.[35] He also maintains that the Nāyak of Ikkēri helped him to regain Vellore and Śrīraṅga honoured him with several presents and honours. This view is based on the statement of Śivatatvaratnākara which mentions that Śivappa Nāyaka on hearing that Śrīraṅga was wandering without a home, defeated the enemies of the emperor and re-instated him at Vellore.[36] This work, Śivatatvaratnākara does not give any date for the victory and achievement of Śivappa Nāyaka. We do not know how Mr. Hayavadāna Rao arrived at the year A. D. 1646 as the date of Śriraṅga's flight from Vellore to Bednore. There are definite evidences to prove that Śrīraṅga fled to the court of Mysore and not to that of Śivappa Nāyaka of Ikkēri. Fr. Proenza says that Śrīraṅga was forced to seek the help of the Rāja of Mysore who promised to give him a part of his territory and treated him with apparent respect and dignity.[37] A letter from Fort St. George dated October 1647 mentions that Śriraṅga had recently fled from his capital Vellore and sought refuge with the ruler of Mysore.[38] It is not possible to accept the view of Dr. N. Venkataramanayya that Śrīraṅga's flight from Vellore did not take place until A. D. 1649.[39]

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[30] Ibid.

[31] W. Foster. Op. cit., 1646–50. p 165.

[32] Ibid. pp. 166–7.

[33] Further Sources. Vol. I. p. 361.

[34] Ibid.

[34(a)] The Nayaks of Madura. p. 266.

The ruler of Mysore who invited Śrīraṅga and promised to protect him was Kaṇṭhīrava Naraśa (1638–59). From 1647 to 1652 Śrīraṅga was in Mysore. But it must be said to his credit that he was not willing to be 'a well-fed guest' of his feudatory. With his irresistible energy he was planning to get back his ancestral territories. Meanwhile, the political situation in the Tamiḷ country had undergone a complete change. After the conquest of Vellore, the Gōlkoṇḍa army under Mir Jumla advanced against Śeñji and Tanjore where the Nāyaks had no other course but to surrender at discretion. Tirumala Nāyaka of Madura was now convinced that he would not be spared. He committed a second folly and sought the help of the Sulṭān of Bijāpur against Gōlkoṇda. With the help of an army of 17 thousand cavalry supplied by the Sulṭān of Bijāpur and with his own army of 30,000 soldiers, Tirumala tried to save the fortress of Śeñji. But the Gōlkoṇḍa forces came to an agreement with the Bijāpur army and withdrew from Śeñji. The Bijāpurians who came to help Tirumala Nāyaka became the besiegers with the result that they became masters of the fortress.[40] Having conquered Śeñji the Bijāpurians marched against Tanjore and Madura just as the Gōlkoṇḍa army had done before. Vijayarāghava of Tanjore hid himself in the forests and Tirumala Nāyaka had to open negotiations and to submit humbly to the dictation of the invaders. Thus Tirumala had to reap the consequences of his own fallacious policy. Though his action has been defended as inevitable,[41] we can never attribute it either to patriotism or loyalty to the empire. It was an extremely selfish and ill-calculated action which destroyed the Vijayanagar empire in South India at first and then annihilated the Nāyakship of Madura in course of time.

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[35] Mys. Gaz. Vol. II. p. 2372.

[36] Sources. p. 44.

[37] The Nayaks of Madura. p. 265.

[38] W. Foster. Op. cit., pp. 166–7.

[39] Further Sources Vol. I. p. 364.

Śrīraṅga's attempts to win back his kingdom:

With his restless energy, the brave but unfortunate Śrīraṅga was waiting for an opportunity to win back his lost territories. The misunderstanding between the Sulṭān of Bijāpur and Mir Jumla, the Gōlkoṇḍa General, about the division of the territories conquered from Śrīraṅga made them enemies. So, Mir Jumla opened negotiations with Kaṇṭhīrava Naraśa and Śrīraṅga, who was then staying at Mysore. Mir Jumla seems to have induced the ruler of Mysore to rebel against Bijāpur and to have encouraged Śrīraṅga to return to Vellore and recapture his lost possessions.[42] He seized this fine opportunity, raised a large army, reconquered Vellore and the surrounding places from Bijāpur and re-established himself in the Tamiḻ country in A. D. 1652.[43] Prof. Sathianathaier thinks that it was at this juncture that Śivappa Nāyaka of Ikkeri helped Srīraṅga to regain Vellore as mentioned in Sivatatvaranākara.[44] But, it will be proved subsequently that this is not probable and it will be maintained that Śivāppa helped Śrīraṅga after his second flight from Vellore. (See Infra)

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[40] The Nayaks of Madura. p. 129.

[41] Tamilaham in the 17th Century. p. 43.

This success of Śrīraṅga was not to the liking of Tirumala Nāyaka of Madura and so he again induced the Sulṭān of Bijāpur to invade Vellore and Mysore. Says Fr. Proenza, "Tirumala instead of cooperating in the re-establishment of the affairs of Narasinga who alone could save the country, recommenced negotiations with the Muhammadans and urged them to declare war against the ruler of Mysore whom he should have sought for help."[45] This appraisal of the Nāyak's attitude towards Śrīraṅga and Mysore seems to be a sensible one. But, Prof. Sathianathaier ably defends the action of Tirumala, since Śrīraṅga and the ruler

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42. Further Sources. Vol. I. p. 365.
43. W. Foster. Op. cit., 1651–54. Introduction. p. 33.
44. Proceedings of the III Oriental Conference and Tamiḻaham. p. 47.
45. The Nayaks of Madura. Appendix A.

of Mysore were his mortal enemies. The Bijāpur army not only invaded Mysore but also marched against Vellore in 1653. Śrīraṅga seems to have made peace with the Bijāpur General, Khan Muhammad, by which he ceded the fort of Chandragiri and its surroundings to Śrīraṅga.[46]

Why did Tirumala Nāyaka act so selfishly forgetting the imperial interests and his sentiments as a Hindu ruler? He had suffered seriously at the hands of the Bijāpurians by inviting them to invade Vellore on an earlier occasion before Śrīraṅga fled to Mysore. Could he not learn by bitter experience? Dr. S. K. Iyengar pertinently stated that it was difficult to explain the attitude of Tirumala Nāyaka in inviting the Sulṯān of Bijāpur for a second time and he concluded that neither political foresight nor enlightened self-interest could be regarded as basic factors of his policy.[47] But, Prof. Sathianathaier justifies Tirumala Nāyaka's policy when he points out, "One third of the revenues of the country had to be given as tribute (to Śrīraṅga) for practically no advantages to his kingdom........ In the early days of the Nāyakship of Madura, subordination and tribute meant safety from foreign aggression and small expenditure on external defence. Now, the emperor was powerless to execute his will and Madura had herself to organise all her defences."[48] Tirumala was convinced that there was no use in pretending to support an empire which was practically defunct.

Śrīraṅga's appeal to Shāh Jahan:

But, there was a ray of hope for Śrīraṅga in the development of another accident in the history of the Deccan. Mir Jumla who had conquered the eastern part of Śriraṅga's territories wanted to convert his vast acquisitions, 300 miles in length and 50 miles in breadth into an independent kingdom. This was not agreeable to his master, Abdullah Kuṭb Shāh of Gōlkoṇḍa. When the Sultan tried to force Mir Jumla into submission the latter sought the protection of the Mughal emperor Shah Jahan and joined Prince Aurangzeb, the Subhadar of the Deccan near Hyderabad in A. D. 1656.[49] The Sulṭān of Gōlkoṇḍa, naturally, grew terribly angry with Mir Jumla for his disloyal and treacherous conduct and resolved to deprive him of his possessions in the Carnatic. It is said that he secretly encouraged Śrīraṅga to reconquer some of his territories and he occupied Tirupati, Kāñchi and Pulicāt.[50]

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[46] F. Sources. p. 366.

[47] The Nayaks of Madura p. 132. F. Note.

[48] R. Sathianathaier. Op. cit., p. 55.

But, this friendly gesture of the Sulṭān of Gōlkoṇḍa towards Śrīraṅga was a short-lived one. It was only a false hope that was raised in the minds of Śrīraṅga. As soon as Mir Jumla entered the service of the Mughals and when there was no fear of his intervention in the affairs of the South, the need to placate Śrīraṅga was over. The Kuṭb Shah appeared in his true colours and sent his forces to re-establish his authority in the Karnāṭaka.[51] Even the fort of Chandragiri which had been given to Śrīraṅga by Khan Muhammad, the Bijāpur general, in 1653 was occupied by the Gōlkoṇḍa army.[52]

Caught between the two monsters of Bijāpur and Gōlkoṇḍa and threatened with the disloyal and thoroughly inimical attitude of the Nāyak of Madura, Śrīraṅga tried another chance of saving himself. He was said to have sent an agent of his, named Rāma Rāo to Prince Aurangzeb seeking the protection of the Mughal emperor against the Sulṭāns of the Deccan in A. D. 1653.[53] But, Aurangzeb was not inclined to help an infidel against the true-believers. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya mentions that Śrīraṅga appealed to the Mughal protection, a second time through Mir Jumala to Shāh Jahan in 1655.[54] Dr. Jadunāth Sarkar says that Śrīraṅga sent a Brahmin agent named Śrīnivas humbly begging help from Shāh Jahan and making surprising promises. Śrīrańga was willing to give 2½ crores of rupees, 200 elephants, all the jewels within his possession and to pay an annual tribute. He would agree to his kingdom being annexed and given back to him as a jaghir. What is more heart-rending, Śrīraṅga was even willing to become a Muslim if the emperor (Shāh Jahan) wanted it. Only, he must be saved from the Sulṭāns of the Deccan.[55]

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[49] Further Sources. p. 336.

[50] W. Foster. Op. cit., pp. 93, 95, 97–98.

[51] Further Sources. p. 366.

[52] No. 323 ot 1922.

These promises of Śrīrańga show to what pitiable straits he had been reduced in the noble efforts which he was making for saving the last traces of the once mighty Vijayanagar empire. But his appeals fell on deaf ears. Fortune was against him. His friends became enemies and he was "kicked like a foot-ball by feudatory after feudatory." He was destined to lose his all and the "cup of his misery was full." Driven out of Vellore and Chandragiri by the Gōlkoṇḍa and Bijāpur Sulṭāns respectively, Śrīrańga became an emperor without an empire and a king without a kingdom.

When did Śrīrańga flee from the Tamiḻ country for the second time and where did he go? Was he driven out of Vellore or Chandragiri? Mr. K. D. Swaminathan thinks that

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[53] Jadunath Sarkar. History of Aurangzeb. Vol. II. p. 223.

[54] Further Sources. Vol. I. p. 366.

[55] J. N. Sarkar. Ibid.

Śrīra*ń*ga was driven out of Vellore for the second time in A. D. 1654 and then he concluded a treaty with Khān Muhammad, the general of Bijāpur, by which Chandragiri was given to him.[56] But in the same page, Mr. Swaminathan refutes his own date and says that in 1656 Śrīra*ń*ga had to leave the Tamiḻ country.[57] Dr. N. Venkataramanayya mentions that Chandragiri, the last fort which *Ś*rīra*ń*ga held in the Tamiḻ country was captured by the Sulṭān of Gōlkoṇḍa in A. D. 1658.[58] The Jesuit letter of Fr. Proenza dated A. D. 1659 mentions that the king of Vijayanagar was obliged to seek refuge on the borders of his kingdom betrayed by his own vassals for the second time and had to lead a miserable life in the forests.[59] There are no traces of Śrīra*ń*ga's presence in the region around Vellore or Chandragiri after A. D. 1658. Therefore, he must have left Chandragiri in A. D. 1658.

Where did Śrīraṅga go after the loss of Chandragiri in A. D. 1658? Kaṇthirava Narasa of Mysore was not in a mood to invite Śrīra*ń*ga again and to suffer another invasion of his territory by the Sulṭān of Bijāpur. The Nāyak of Tanjore was too weak and impotent to help him; Tirumala Nāyaka of Madura was a mortal enemy and the only resort for Śrīraṅga was Ikkēri. The Kaifiyat of Śrīraṅgapaṭṭiṇam mentions that Śrīraṅga retired to Ummattūr.[60] But, his stay at Ummattūr is not confirmed by any other source of information. The Śivatatvaratnākara mentions that Śivappa Nāyaka of Ikkēri heard that Śrīraṅga had been driven out of his ancestral territories and he was wandering without a home. It was now that Śivappa came to the help of the forsaken monarch. He consulted his brother Veṅkaṭappa about their duty of helping the unfortunate emperor and Śivappa was said to have marched against Vellore, defeated the enemies of Śrīraṅga and captured the fort.[61]

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[56] The Nayaks of Ikkeri. p. 88.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Further Sources. Op. cit., p. 368.

[59] The Nayaks of Madura. Appendix A.

[60] Ibid.

But we are not certain whether 'Velapura' mentioned in the Śivatatvaratnākara is Vellore in North Arcot district or Bēlūr in Mysore; whether the enemies of Śrīraṅga were the forces of Gōlkoṇḍa occupying Vellore (N. A. Dt.) or the ruler of Mysore who was in possession of Bēlūr. If the fort that was captured by Śivappa was Vellore in the Tamiḻ country, we have to pose the question whether Śivappa, a small chieftain, could have marched all the way from Ikkēri to North Arcot and dislodged the forces of Gōlkoṇḍa from there. There seems to be no truth in identifying *Vēlapura* of Śivatatvaratnākara with Vellore in the Tamiḻ country. The Vēlapura mentioned in Śivatatvaratnākara must be Bēlūr in Hassan district, Mysore. The Sanskrit term Vēlapura becomes Bēlūr in Kanarese such as Vallāḷa became Ballaḷa. Dr. Venkataramanayya mentions that the conquest of Bēlūr by Śivappa is corroborated by the Kēladinirupavijayam. With the help of the chieftains of Sode, Bilige, Tarikere, Haripura and other places, Śivappa marched against Bēlūr, in 1659, conquered it from the enemies of Śriīraṅga handed it over to him and thus re-established the kingdom of the Rāyas.[62]

Who were the enemies from whom Śivappa conquered Bēlūr? Mr. K. D. Swaminathan thinks that Śivappa conquered Bēlūr from the Sulṭān of Bijāpur.[63] But he does not mention the authority for this information but only rests content by observing that Bēlūr was under the control of Bījāpur from A. D. 1640. The enemy of Śrīraṅga from whom Śivappa conquered Bēlūr seems to have been the ruler of

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[61] Sources. p. 347.

[62] Ibid.

[63] The Nayaks of Ikkeri. pp. 89–90.

Mysore since he refused to help Śrīraṅga and Śivappa who took pity on Śrīraṅga, regarded Kāṇṭhirava Naraśa of Mysore as the enemy of the emperor. Bēlūr was then included ln the territory of Mysore and it was conquered and given to Śrīraṅga by Śivappa. An inscription from Bēlūr dated May 1659 mentions Śrīraṅga ruling from there in that year.[64] Three other records mention Bēlūr as Vēlapura and attest to Śrīraṅga's rule from there.[65] From 1659 to 1670 there are a number of records which mention Śrīraṅga's rule over Western Mysore.[66]

Battle of Erode A. D. 1670:

Tirumala Nāyaka of Madura was mainly responsible for the flight of Śrrraṅga from the Tamiḻ country. Fr. Proenza says that this disloyal conduct of Tirumala was much resented by Kāṇṭhīrava Naraśa of Mysore and that the 'War of the Noses' between Mysore and Madura was the result of the betrayal of Śrīraṅga by Tirumala.[67] But, we know that this war between Madura and Mysore was waged when Śrīraṅga was denied any help by Kāṇṭhirava and while Śivappa of Ikkēri was fighting for the cause of Śrīraṅga against Mysore. So, it was not the loyalty of Mysore towards Śrīraṅga but the mutual jealousy between these two prominent feudatories of Vijayanagar that led to that inhuman warfare.

The grandson of Tirumala Nāyaka, Chokkanātha Nāyaka (1659–1682) was a very different person from his grandfather.

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[64] E. C. V. Bl. No. 196.

[65] E. C. V. Bl. Nos. 80, 8I and 82.

[66] M. A. R. 1924.
- do - 1925. p. 25. No. 11.
- do - 1926. pp. 40–41. No. 8.
E. C. 9. Ht. No. 70. Ag. 83.
R. Sewell. H. I. of S. I. pp. 281 to 285.

[67] The Nayaks of Madura. p. 266.

He seems to have repudiated the policy of his grandfather and recognised Śrīraṅga III as the emperor. Five of his copper plates mention that he recognised Śrīraṅga as sovereign. A copper plate grant from Śrīraṅgam dated A.D. 1662 mentions that he regarded Śrīraṅga as his sovereign.[68] Another record of Chokkanātha dated 1663 mentions Śrīraṅga ruling at Vēlapuri (Bēlūr) on his jewelled throne.[69] In A. D. 1665 and 1667 Chokkanātha recognised Śrīraṅga as his overlord.[70] A lithic record from Kaṇṇāḍiputtūr (Coim. Dt.) confirms the loyalty of Chokkanātha to Śrīraṅga.[71]

Fr. Proenza's letter dated 1662 mentions that Chokkanāthā Nāyaka attempted to drive the Muslims from the Tamiḻ country and to re-establish Vijayanagar rule and to revive the Nāyakship of Señji. He wanted to make amends for the ill-advised policy of his grandfather.[72] Three inscriptions dated A. D. 1679, 1686 and 1722 refer to a battle at Erode between Chokkanātha Nāyaka of Madura supported by Dāmerla Ayyappa against Dēvarāja of Mysore in about A. D. 1670. They mention that Chokkanātha Nāyaka was defeated by Dēvaraja of Mysore. Though they are posthumous records, yet they contain an element of truth.[73] The confederacy formed by Chokkanātha was supported by the Nāyak of Tanjore, Dāmerla Ayyappa and a general of the Bijāpur army,[74] But, we do not know for certain whether Śivappa Nāyaka of Ikkēri actually joined the confederacy or not. The confederate army met the forces of Mysore at

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[68] Sewell. S. C. P. No. 51.

[69] Sewell. S. C. P. No. 128.

[70] Sewell. S. C. P. Nos. 186 and 188.

[71] V. Rangachari. I. p. 562.

[72] The Nayaks of Madura. p. 273.

[73] P. O. C. III. Madras. 1924.

[74] Sources. p. 2.

Erode. Dr. S. K. Iyengar and Prof. Sathianathaier have assigned a tentative date between A. D. 1670 and 1674 in their earlier work, 'The Nāyaks of Madura.'[75] Recently the date 1670 has been assigned to the battle of Erode.[76]

The misfortune of Śrīraṅga III dogged his supporters also. The allies were defeated and Dāmerla Ayyappa lost his life and this defeat sealed the fate of Śrīraṅga once for all. His last possession, Bēlūr was captured by Dēvarāja of Mysore and Śrīraṅga had to take shelter at Ikkēri. He lived only for two more years as a fugitive in the court of Śivappa of Ikkēri. There seems to be no truth in the view that he went to Peṉukoṇḍa in A. D. 1669 and with the help of Abdullah Kuṭb Shāh continued to rule till A. D. 1681.[77] Prof. Sathianathaier has proved beyond doubt that Śrīraṅga III died on 16th December 1672. He produces the reliable evidence of an English letter from Fort St. George mentioning the death of Śrīraṅga III on that date.[78] With Śrrīaṅga III, Vijayanagar rule in the Tamil̤ country may be said to have come to an end.

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[75] The Nayaks of Madura. pp. 133–34.

[76] Tamil̤aham in the 17th Century. p. 53. also Proceedings of the III Oriental Conference, Madras. 1924.

[77] Further Sources. p. 369.

[78] Tamil̤aham in the 17th Century. p. 54.

Erode; Dr. S. K. Aiyangar and Prof. Sathianathaier have assigned a tentative date between A. D. 1670 and 1674 in their earlier work, The Nayaks of Madura.[75] Recently the date 1670 has been assigned to the battle of Erode.[76]

The misfortune of Sriranga III dogged his supporters also. The allies were defeated and Damarla Ayyappa lost his life and this defeat sealed the fate of Sriranga once for all. His last possession, Belur was captured by Devaraja of Mysore and Sriranga had to take shelter at Ikkeri. He lived only for two more years as a fugitive in the court of Sivappa of Ikkeri. There seems to be no truth in the view that he went to Penukonda in A. D. 1669 and with the help of Abdullah Kutb Shah continued to rule till A. D. 1681.[77] Prof. Sathianathaier has proved beyond doubt that Sriranga III died on 16th December 1672. He produces the reliable evidence of an English letter from Fort St. George mentioning the death of Sriranga III on that date.[78] With Sriranga III, Vijayanagar rule in the Tamil country may be said to have come to an end.

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[75] The Nayaks of Madura, pp. 16-17.

[76] Tamilakam in the 17th Century, p. 53. Also Proceedings of the III Oriental Conference, Madras 1924.

[77] Further Sources, p. 302.

[78] Tamilakam in the 17th Century, p. 55.

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